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Patterns of rhetoric/patterns of culture : a look at the English writing of Japanese students

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Suzanne Raschke for the Master of Arts in
TESOL presented November 6, 1991.

Title: PATTERNS OF RHETORIC/PATTERNS OF CULTURE

A LOOK AT THE ENGLISH WRITING OF JAPANESE STUDENTS.

APPROVED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

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That a link exists between language and culture has long been accepted; however, not only the extent, but also the exact nature of that link remains unclear. In recent years, rhetoricians have raised questions about how culture affects the patterns of organization and other rhetorical features of writing. At present, the search for answers to these questions is made difficult by the cultural bias imposed by the language of any analysis of writing that may be undertaken and by a lack

of criteria that can be used in performing such an analysis.

In order to understand why Japanese students often receive comments on their English papers indicating the writing is lacking in either coherence or cohesion, and/or that the writing is poorly organized, this study was undertaken. The purpose was to identify and describe the patterns of organization found in the English writing of two Japanese students, to identify strategies the students were using to generate these patterns and to identify the students' perceptions of and attitudes toward English rhetoric.

All the papers the subjects wrote for intermediate ESL classes in Portland, Oregon were collected and analyzed. Words, T-units and subordinate clauses per paper were counted, and ratios of each to the others calculated. Clausal conjuncts and hedges were also counted and classified. Inter-sentential, paragraph, and overall rhetorical patterns were examined. The two individuals were then interviewed about their work and about English writing in general.

The findings of this study indicate that Japanese culture plays a significant role in how these two Japanese students approach writing in English, but that how the cultural values actually manifest themselves in writing varies with the individual. Both writers indicated that when the expectations and values of the second culture audience were explicitly expressed by a writing instructor, they could achieve greater success in complying with those values and meeting the expectations. The writers also agreed that the rhetorical pattern of explicit statement of thesis, development, and restatement seemed redundant and sometimes caused problems for them. Both differentiated between what they felt was

required to get a good grade and what they personally valued in writing, and that given a choice, they preferred to write in accordance with the latter. The feature identified as causing the most discomfort was placement of an explicitly-stated thesis at the beginning of a text. The younger subject indicated that even in Japanese this practice is becoming more common, however.

Results of this study were inconclusive as to how clausal subordination affects coherence, but indicate there may be a developmental continuum of clause handling along which at least some Japanese students move when learning English writing. Use of conjuncts as a cohesive device varied with the writer, with one student relying on them much more heavily than the other. For the former, the use of hedges was found to interfere with the cohesive effect of the use of clausal conjuncts. That significant differences existed between the two subjects' reliance on clausal subordination and conjuncts supports current research claims that a variety of cohesive devices can and do contribute to coherence.

PATTERNS OF RHETORIC/PATTERNS OF CULTURE
A LOOK AT THE ENGLISH WRITING OF JAPANESE STUDENTS

by
SUZANNE RASCHKE

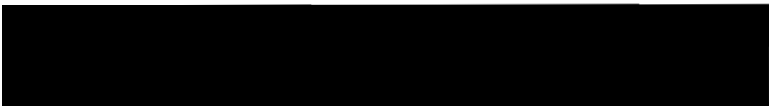
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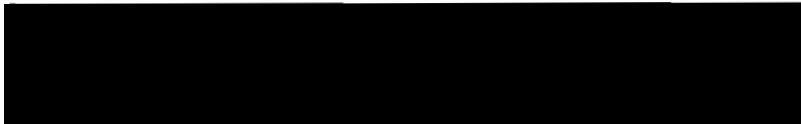
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1991

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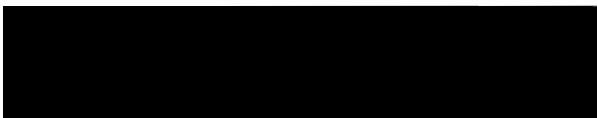

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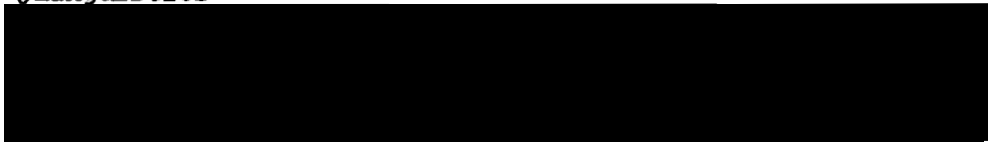

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FOR THE WOMAN IN THE CHINAMAN'S CAP AND MOCCASINS

Some patterns are best kept;
others best broken.

The difficulty
is in seeing which is which.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many times I have heard the term reality spoken as if, in fact, there were only one reality. I have never believed this.

Some years ago I was taught that the elementary principle of drawing is learning to see, and that in order to paint, one must be able to draw. I did not understand this concept at the time, and was not interested in drawing. What I saw was color, not lines and shapes. I did not want to draw, so I went about trying to paint without being able to draw. My painting teacher was dismayed, and though I was stubborn in my refusal to draw, I slowly began to wonder what it was I was missing, and why.

Repeatedly, I watched friends of mine find lines in a landscape which I found void of them, even when a given friend and I looked from the same perspective. I noticed, too, how different ones among these friends predictably drew entirely different representations of the same landscape. The difference was not just in how each rendered, but in what each rendered as the subject. I wondered how I was ever to find the edges of things if they varied according to the seer. I thought that perhaps there were no real edges, only those of the imagination; and that if my colors were accurate enough, I would not have to learn to find any edges at all. But my painting teacher dogged me, "Even shadows have edges!" Eventually, I entered the realm of perspective drawing; and, though I am still no master of it, at least now I know what it means to learn to see, even if I remain partially blind.

Again and again this lesson comes to mind when I work with writers struggling to express themselves. It seems that most of us focus on the rendering, without attending to our perceptions; but writers too must learn to see. The task is difficult enough in the writer's native language; but in a second language, the difficulty is doubled. The writer must see differently and express differently than he or she would in the native language.

Rhetoric, in my mind, is parallel to perspective drawing: both require lessons in perception. For me, working on this paper has been yet another attempt to find the edges of things, especially the shadows, as these show the relation of what we see to what we do not.

I would like to thank my advisor, Marjorie Terdal, for truly listening the first time I talked to her, for her encouragement then and ever since, and for her unflagging support throughout this project and its precursor. My thanks go also to Kimberly Brown for her staying power, for her holistic approach, and for playing several roles as she deemed necessary and saw fit; all of them helped. I extend my gratitude to Duncan Carter. His acute perceptions and the breadth of his application of ideas helped me to put things in a new light. In addition, I would like to show my appreciation to Sharon Carstens, who with patience and humor guided me in my first attempts to analyze expressions of culture.

Because this thesis is the by-product of another, larger project still evolving, there are many who contributed to it indirectly, perhaps even without knowing. First, there is Kathleen Sands, my advocate, who taught me the meaning of "story," and in so doing, forged, in my mind, a

permanent bond among all peoples across all times and landscapes. In addition are the efforts of Susan Foster, for whose insight, time, and files I will be forever grateful; and James Nattinger, whose comments and suggestions helped bring the project to fruition.

Many friends and colleagues have helped me along my way. I am grateful to Noriko Yamamoto, who has given me glimpses of my students, and second language learners in general, I would never have envisioned without her; and who, in addition, has done much to help me understand the Japanese way and participate in Japanese culture. My thanks go also to Hiroko Kitano for the long talks, the dinners, and many, many research reports. Her generosity, patience and insight have been invaluable to me. My appreciation is extended to Kazuhiro Nunome, who lit a small light in a reality previously darkened to me, and in so doing, helped me to see this project to completion. I would like to thank Phillip Crosby, Greg Fox, Jeff Klausman, and my family for all of their help with computers. Their time, patience, expertise and support granted my ideas a material form.

Finally, I extend a very warm and heartfelt appreciation to Melisa Crosby and William Underwood. I cannot possibly enumerate the various forms their help and support have taken. For everything--from Mexican cocoa, toothpaste, and last-minute deliveries of papers; to long talks over coffee, hugs, and steadfast spirits--I am grateful.

This study would not have been possible without the cooperation of those who so generously participated in the research itself. Because of their experiences, and their willingness to share those experiences, my perceptions have taken shape and found expression. To them I say,

arigatoo gozaimashita.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

This report represents an effort to develop a method for describing and characterizing the way a writer organizes his or her ideas at the sentence, paragraph, and rhetorical levels.

Despite ongoing debate about the characterization of organizational patterns used in English writing, few methods are available for describing these patterns. Furthermore, no method has been found that can be used to characterize organizational patterns, which does not impose a cultural bias on the characterization.

For example, categories such as cohesion and relevance are often used in discussing relationships between parts of a text (a text being a body of writing meant to function as a unit). In order for these terms to be useful, however, the parameters for what is to be judged relevant or cohesive must be specified and remain fixed. In trying to establish these parameters to be used in evaluation, a researcher quickly realizes that notions of relevance and cohesion differ from culture to culture, and to some extent, even within a culture.

One obvious example regards argument. What is relevant to persuading an audience? An American might be likely to include only that information which supports the proposal from one side. In contrast,

persons from certain other cultures, including Japanese, might be more likely to present information supporting proposals from both sides, leaving the value of each largely implied through an intricate presentation, and leaving the opponent with a question he or she must think about before reaching a conclusion. In such a situation, an American might consider nearly half of the Japanese argument to be irrelevant, while the Japanese might consider the explicitness of the American argument irrelevant. When writers begin composing in a language not their own, they must redefine their notions of the parameters that govern textual organization according to the cultural norms of the second language group, if they are to write effectively.

Kaplan (1966, 1988) and others indicate that a writer's cultural background influences the choices he or she makes in organizing text. Kaplan, Purves (1985, 1988), and Carroll (1960) have laid the groundwork for establishing criteria that can be used to analyze patterns of organization without evaluating these patterns according to notions that are largely culture-bound.

The establishment of such criteria is important for two reasons. First, these criteria would enable readers, writers and educators to more concisely account for differences in style and form among various types of English writing in different contexts. The relationships between content, form, audience and purpose might then be clarified. In addition, having criteria for describing organizational strategies would provide students and teachers in the field of English as a second language (ESL) with the tools needed to compare the rhetoric (pattern or patterns of organization) a student is using with that which is his or her target.

Students and teachers could then work together to determine exactly how the patterns differ, rather than simply agreeing the patterns do differ. The student would then know not only that the writing is not typical of English, but also how the writing differed and how it could be changed to sound more English if s/he so desired. In effect, the student would be equipped to make conscious rather than blind choices about organizational strategies according to audience, purpose, context, etc. Teachers, in turn, would be better able to guide students who are learning to write in English without judging what may well be cultural preferences. Instead of saying a text is "incoherent" or "disorganized," both of which carry negative connotations about the student's work, the teacher could identify and name a certain feature the student is using. Teacher and student together could discuss the effect(s) of this feature, and the student decide whether it is what s/he wants in that particular context.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this study was to identify and describe the patterns of organization found in the English writing of two Japanese students, to identify strategies the students were using to generate these patterns and to identify the students' perceptions of and attitudes toward English rhetoric. The underlying goal was to see how culture affects the rhetoric these students use when writing in English. A secondary purpose of the study was to develop a method for describing and characterizing the way a writer organizes his or her ideas at the sentence, paragraph, and rhetorical levels.

This report indicates two sets of findings: a characterization of

the organizational strategies used by two writers who are not members of the mainstream American culture and a description of a method of rhetorical analysis based on those put forward by Purves, Soter, Takala, and Vahapassi (1984) and Carroll (1960) and refined in the process of the research reported here.

Among the reasons for choosing this topic, the most fundamental was to learn more about the relationship between culture and language. A more specific reason was to find out something about the role that culture plays in the way writers organize text. The most particular reason was to gain understanding of how Japanese students write in English and how they perceive their English writing, its structures, and the meanings both they and American readers attribute to these structures. The hope was that this information would enable the teachers of Japanese students to be more effective guides through the process of learning to write in English.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

Several questions guided the inquiry as it progressed. Although each question and the rationale for its use are explained and developed more fully in the chapters on methodology and results, a brief summary of the questions is provided here. Individual terms will be defined in the review of the literature.

1. What are the priorities and values of Japanese students regarding English writing?
2. Do Japanese cultural values and perceptions influence rhetorical choices, paragraphing, and intersentential relationships in the English writing of Japanese students? If so, how?

3. Do the rhetorical patterns these writers use vary with the piece of writing?
4. How do Japanese writers perceive the essay and paragraph pattern of direct thesis statement, development and restatement?
5. Do any features of the writing of Japanese students suggest there is a difference between cohesion and coherence?
6. How do conjuncts contribute to cohesion and coherence?
7. Is the usage of hedges related to conjunct usage?

APPROACH

For this research, the English papers two Japanese students wrote for ESL classes in Portland, Oregon were collected and analyzed. The two individuals were then interviewed about their work and about English writing in general.

The study undertaken was a broad inquiry rather than a narrow one, because it was an attempt to uncover some of the key features in the English rhetoric of the two Japanese ESL students, rather than to evaluate, according to American audience expectations, specific features of the rhetoric used. The main focus was on coherence-creating mechanisms, one of the three areas Kaplan recommended in 1988 for further research. The topic of coherence was selected because coherence is so often the primary target of ESL instructors' criticism of the writing of Japanese students. In any discussion of coherence, however, audience expectations enter in, so those became, in the course of the research, a secondary focus.

The approach was similar to that of a case study, in which a variety of types of data are collected concerning a single subject. The

researcher collected cultural-linguistic background information on each of two subjects, examined the English writing of these subjects, and discussed both the subject's writing, and English writing in general, with each subject. Due to the nature and purpose of the study, most of the results were descriptive, rather than analytical. Of the analyses, only a portion were quantitative, because most of the data collected were not quantifiable. Because of the volume of writing examined and the length of the interviews, the study was necessarily limited in scope.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

RHETORIC

Anyone who loves to hear (or read) a good story knows that the art of storytelling is as much in the telling as in the story. Listeners and readers respond to how something is told as much as to what is said. In writing, the "how" is referred to as rhetoric, and this term is applied not only to narration but to all written forms.

Rhetoric is in part organization of ideas, but it includes many other things as well--things which are not easy to isolate or identify. As a result, a clear and concrete definition of the term is hard to find. Alan Purves (1988), one of the leading experts in the field of rhetorical analysis, suggests that:

We might define rhetoric as the choice of linguistic and structural aspects of discourse--chosen to produce an effect on an audience. Rhetoric, therefore, is a matter of choice with respect to the uses of languages as opposed to those use[s] that are determined by lexical and grammatical strictures. (p. 9)

Currently, research on rhetoric abounds. One of the areas of interest that has developed since the first large waves of international students hit colleges and universities in the United States in the 1960s is the relationship between culture and rhetoric.

CULTURAL INFLUENCES

In general, culture seems to enter rhetoric via two avenues: perception and convention. Ideas expressed in writing come from perceptions which are culturally shaped and they are expressed according to conventions born of culture. Perception and convention may not be mutually exclusive, however; for, to the extent that perception is learned, it is largely governed by conventions of the society in which it is learned. Support for this idea comes from diverse fields, and additional evidence is steadily accumulating. In 1966, Robert Oliver, in discussing the relationship between philosophy, rhetoric and argument, expressed the idea this way:

Rhetoric concerns itself basically with what goes on in the mind . . . with factors of analysis, data gathering, interpretation, and synthesis What we notice in the environment and how we notice it are both predetermined to a significant degree by how we are prepared to notice this particular type of object Cultural anthropologists point out that given acts and objects appear vastly different in different cultures, depending on the values attached to them. Psychologists investigating perception are increasingly insistent that what is perceived depends upon the observer's perceptual frame of reference. (pp. x-xi)

More recently, Anna Soter, in her 1985 article about cultural transfer in the narration of writers composing in a second language, has discussed how the frame(s) of reference learned during primary socialization influence schemata and discourse patterns, and how these in turn influence expression of thought in additional language(s) learned later. She argues that the rhetoric we choose is "very strongly influenced by our experiences with discourse generally and written text specifically and the related conventions that govern each of these within our own social and

cultural contexts" (1985, p. 178). Such conventions are established in compliance with cultural values and priorities. In fact, according to Coe, one of the roles of culture is to limit and delimit the possible forms expression may take within a particular context and community, and to indicate which of these is/are preferred (1987, p. 19). As a result, within any given culture, one or more communities exist which are bound together in part by a shared interpretation of reality from which shared expectations of form of expression evolve. When at least one of these forms of expression is written, the community that fosters the form(s) may be termed a "rhetorical community" (Purves, 1986, p. 39).

Learning the forms permitted and valued by a rhetorical community is a part of the process of acculturation. So, Soter concludes, when international students are learning English rhetorical forms, they are undergoing a cultural process (1985, p. 201). A large body of research indicates that while a language learner is going through this process, his/her cultural background influences the choices s/he makes in organizing and presenting ideas in writing (Coe, 1987; Grabe and Kaplan, 1989; Holloway, 1981; Hinds, 1983; Kaplan, 1989).

Kaplan, in his 1988 article on contrastive rhetoric, explains that this is so not because thought processes or cognitive frameworks differ with culture, but because rhetorical conventions are part of a set of literacy skills which are learned. They are learned at least in part through formal education (p. 264). Because rhetorical conventions are learned, they can be taught in the foreign language classroom. Before they can be taught, however, some standardized means of identifying and characterizing writing conventions must be developed. Otherwise, there

will be no way to make certain two people are talking about the same thing when discussing rhetorical features. Teachers will be limited, in their comments to students, to explanations such as, "this part here does not sound native," but will not be able to communicate, specifically, why it does not.

Halliday and Hasan (1976; 1985), Kaplan (1988), Purves (1985; 1988), and Soter (1985) have been steadily working toward the purpose of establishing such standards. They, along with other researchers, have laid the groundwork for establishing criteria which can be used to analyze patterns of organization without evaluating these patterns according to notions which are largely culture-bound.

Kaplan attempted to draw visual representations of organization patterns in his now famous 1966 article introducing contrastive rhetoric. Although at that time, the article was heavily criticized, Kaplan's idea of drawing rhetorical models may yet prove to be a useful tool, because it avoids the problem of cultural bias imposed by and inherent in the language used in any linguistic description of rhetoric.

Since 1966, and largely because of the heavy criticism of Kaplan's initial proposal of contrastive rhetoric, Kaplan and others have refined and tested his ideas. In 1988, Kaplan delineated seven areas of learning involved in the mastery of rhetorical patterns, adding that in different languages the same pattern(s) may serve different purposes. Three of these areas are coherence-creating mechanisms, audience expectations, and knowledge of the subject to be discussed, (i.e., background knowledge shared by the reader community as opposed to specialized knowledge). For the purpose of describing Japanese writing, the first of these was

initially chosen as the focus of attention because problems with coherence are often cited by ESL teachers as the major downfall of Japanese student writing in English. It was quickly realized, however, that the other two areas were too closely related to coherence to be excluded from the discussion.

COHERENCE, COHESION AND CONJUNCTION

Coherence, and the relationship between coherence and cohesion, have attracted much attention. Coherence may be defined as the way the parts of a whole go together to form that whole. As Halliday and Hasan indicate in their extensive analysis of cohesion and coherence, the "togetherness" of the parts is determined as much by the expectations of a reader (audience) as by the intentions of the writer. Generally speaking, the extent to which a piece of writing is characterized as coherent is the extent to which reader expectations and writer intentions match up one-to-one (1985, p. 48). Both expectations and intentions, in turn, are affected by what is delineated as shared (background) knowledge. Cohesion, it now seems clear, is a kind of glue that acts upon coherence, and is only one of many factors that contribute to coherence (Widdowson, 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1985; J. Anderson, 1983; P. Anderson, 1980). Cohesion cannot create coherence, however; it can only help to maintain coherence already established. Both terms, and the relationship between the two, are discussed at length in Chapter VI.

In order to talk about coherence and rhetoric, several terms must be defined, in particular, text. Halliday and Hasan define text in one of their early books on cohesion as "any passage, spoken or written, of

whatever length, that does form a unified whole [A text is] a unit of language in use" (1976, p. 2). They proposed, as well, the idea that a text differs in kind, as well as in size, from a sentence. They also supplied the classification system, now widespread in its use, in which all semantic relations between parts of a text are identified as belonging to one of four categories: reference, substitution and ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion. These semantic relations, they say, constitute "the set of linguistic resources" English has for creating cohesion (p. 48). One among them, conjunction, was chosen as a focus in this study of Japanese student writing, though not all aspects of conjunction were included.

Conjuncts, and their particular contribution to cohesion, is the focus of Zamel's 1984 article. In it, Zamel proposes that the traditional classification of clausal conjuncts (e.g., and, but, however) into semantic categories, such as summatives or contrastors, is misleading to students and that a syntactic categorization would provide students with the information they need to avoid violating usage constraints. For example, if a student knew that but is simply a coordinating conjunct, while however is a subordinating conjunct, they might avoid attempting to subordinate a clause using the former, with less than positive results. The perception of a need for this recategorization is based on the assertion that problems with cohesion in texts written by ESL students are due to breakdowns in conjunction resulting from syntactically inappropriate use of conjuncts. Little research was found to support this assertion.

Culture, and its relation to cohesion, is the subject of Dale

Holloway's 1981 study. In it, Holloway discusses the American value of individualism and the resultant lack of shared background knowledge that contributes to the need for explicitness in English writing (pp. 1-7). She also suggests that elements of cohesion are more likely to be "culturally preferred" than "culturally determined," and identifies explicitness, ordering and cohesion as mechanisms contributing to coherence in English.

In an effort to define categories that can be used to describe both the parts and the whole of a text, Purves (1985), Purves and Purves (1986), and Purves, Soter, Takala, and Vahapassi (1984) have developed a rhetorical scoring scheme based on Carroll's vector analysis approach to rhetorical characterization proposed in 1960. Even for the researcher who does not intend to use these categories in analysis, these studies are useful, as they lend insight into the cultural bias imposed by the language of discussion. Purves' approach to analyzing rhetoric, developed and refined continuously and reported in his 1985 and 1988 articles, differs significantly from that of Myers (1985). Myers explains how sequences within a text can be typologized as coordinate, subordinate, or mixed; and how levels of generality can then be determined from these data. Myers goes on to detail how sequences are only one type of cohesive tie, providing formulas for counting and analyzing other types.

CLAUSES

Clausal subordination is another type of cohesive tie, one often cited as an index of writing maturity. In order to look at this tie, at the relation of subordination to sentence structure, and at sentence

length, Hunt, in 1965, performed a study on the writing of native speakers of English of various ages. What developed from his study was a unit of structure which is countable and can be used to analyze texts while avoiding the issue of how to determine sentence boundaries. He called this segment a "T-unit," and defined it as "one main clause plus whatever subordinate clauses that happen to be attached to or embedded within it" (1965, p. 305). This unit of measure is particularly useful because it is not affected by punctuation or by coordination between main clauses, and at the same time does not disturb subordination or coordination between clauses, phrases or words. Hunt argues that T-units are superior to sentences as units of measure for writing analysis because it is often difficult to determine what to count as a sentence and what not to count. (For example, is a sentence anything the student punctuates as a sentence or is it defined by a complete thought expressed with at least a subject and a finite verb?) An additional problem is that sentence length is a relatively poor measure of writing development. For these reasons, the Lix and Rix measures described by J. Anderson (1983) are unsuitable because both are based on sentence length. Lix is defined as "word length + sentence length where word length is percentage of long words and sentence length is average length of sentence in words" (p. 9). The Rix is a mathematical extrapolation of the Lix: the number of long words divided by the number of sentences, multiplied by 100 (p. 10). The F-unit is another standard measure. It was developed as an alternative that does not rely on sentence boundaries. Lindeberg (1984, p. 200) defines F-units as "clauses and clause equivalents that serve an identifiable rhetorical function (e.g. ASSERT, EXEMPLIFY, CONTRAST), to be distinguished from

those that only fill essential syntactic slots . . . within a matrix clause." F-units are inappropriate for analyzing ESL student text because by definition they include a reader interpretation of the function of the language segment. Interpreting function is likely to impose the cultural bias of the researcher on the writing. Both T-units and clauses were counted for this study. Details on the definition of a subordinate clause, and problems involved in establishing this definition, are discussed in later chapters of this report.

Although none of the researchers referred to here presents a comprehensive approach to analyzing text organization, each of them offers certain ideas that merit further testing and application. In time, such testing and application should lead toward the development of standard criteria, which are not culture bound, for examining discourse patterns. For the purposes of this study, ideas were drawn from all the research discussed here, combined and modified to fit the requirements and limits of this project.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to describe the patterns of organization in the English writing of two Japanese students and identify the students' writing strategies as well as their perceptions of and attitudes toward English rhetoric. The underlying goal was to see how culture affects the rhetoric these students use when writing in English. The methodology used was descriptive in character and drawn from a number of sources (Carlson, 1988; Carroll, 1960; Halliday & Hasan, 1976 and 1985; Holloway, 1981; Hunt, 1965; Kaplan, 1966 and 1988; Myers, 1985; Purves, 1985; Purves & Purves, 1986; Purves, Soter, Takala, & Vahapassi, 1984).

SUBJECTS

Two subjects participated in the research; both are Japanese. For the purposes of this report and in order to preserve their anonymity, they will be referred to as Naomi and Keita. The subjects were chosen according to parameters intended to allow for the greatest diversity within the possible ranges of subjects, while controlling for amount of English studied and time spent in the U.S. In other words, an attempt was made to find two people as different from each other as possible, who had the same amount of exposure to the second language and culture. Keita is male; and Naomi, female. A further criterion for selection was that both subjects had retained all of their writing completed for intermediate

level English classes in Portland.

At the time of the data collection, Keita was thirty-six years old and had been in the United States for nine months. His home culture and first language are both Japanese. English was his second and only other language. He had spent most of his life in Tokyo and was enrolled in intermediate level English as a second language (ESL) classes at a Portland area college when the data reported here were collected. He had earned a four-year degree from a university in Japan several years before coming to the United States and had worked many jobs in his country in the interim. His stated purpose for learning English was to be able to live and work in the United States.

Naomi was nineteen at the time of the data collection. She had been in the United States for eight months. Her home culture and first language are both Japanese and; like Keita, English was her second and only other language. She had spent all of her life before coming to the United States in northern Japan and was enrolled in high-intermediate level ESL classes at a different college in Portland when the data reported here were collected. She had just graduated from high school in Japan when she came to Portland to learn English and prepare for college in the U.S. She is learning English for academic purposes only and intends to return to Japan to live and work when she completes a four year degree in America.

WRITING SAMPLES

Both subjects were asked to submit any and all of their English writing papers for analysis, including any drafts. Keita submitted a

total of twenty papers and Naomi submitted a total of seventeen. Several of each subject's papers included two or more drafts. All of the papers were reviewed, but only first drafts analyzed as it was clear that later drafts had been edited to exclude the features of interest as directed by instructors' comments.

The writing analysis included several steps intended to enable description of patterns at the sentence, paragraph and rhetorical levels. The analysis began with various counting procedures. As specific items were counted, they were color coded, so as not to overlap on subsequent counts. Two English as a Second Language instructors did the counting. The primary researcher counted everything of interest to this report. The additional coder performed the same counts on twenty percent of the papers of each subject (the longest papers). The two coders practiced their counting technique on compositions of Japanese students not participating in this study. After eliminating any questions, they continued the procedure on the samples for the research.

First, the total number of T-units in each composition was calculated. As defined by Hunt in 1965, a T-unit consists of "one main clause plus whatever subordinate clauses happen to be attached to or embedded within it" (p. 305). Following, is sample of Naomi's text: "To learn a language is very important. If we don't know any language, there may be many problems between persons. There are two reasons why we learn a language." It is divided into T-units below, with each clause beginning a new line.

1. To learn a language is very important.
2. If we don't know any language,

there may be many problems between persons.

3. There are two reasons
why we learn a language.

It may be worth noting that noun clauses functioning as subjects or objects, such as "to learn" in this example, do not constitute T-units. A T-unit must contain a main clause. Once the number of T-units for each paper had been calculated, the compositions were ordered from longest (in number of T-units) to shortest.

Hedges were counted next. Words and phrases which softened the impact of the sentence or clause they modified, or which lessened the certainty of the idea reported in the modified clause, were counted as hedges. In the following excerpt from Keita's text (emphasis added by the researcher), "seem to" would be counted as a hedge, but "usually" would not.

When we are confronted with serious problems or issues, we have to solve it in the most beneficial way. Western inventors seem to solve difficult or negative situations with a positive attitude. They have usually found the solution with such a constructive attitude.

In this case, "seem to" indicates that the writer is imposing his own interpretation and limits the hardness of the claim it introduces. "Usually," on the other hand, quantifies the number of solutions achieved per a total number of attempts. Thus, even though "usually" might be considered vague, or "soft," in some way, it is not counted as a hedge because the "softness" is inherent in the fact, or statistic, rather than in the way the writer presents it. An additional example from the same paper (emphasis again added by the researcher) may help to clarify this, in part because of its content, as well as because of its illustration of

the analysis.

Why are there such differences between the people of the United States and Japan in their attitude toward the solutions of the problems and difficult issues. I feel there are four reasons. There are geographical, historical, racial and, most important educational differences. People from Western countries think of themselves as individuals. Children of the United States are taught to consider themselves individuals from an early age. They are encouraged to be independent. They are urged to ask and answer questions at school and at home. In conversations or discussions, people will often begin a sentence with "I think...." or "In my opinion.." These expressions allow people to show agreement or disagreement politely. But Japanese people tend to think of themselves as part of a group. Being part of a group such as company, a school or a family is a very important Japanese culture. Because Japanese children learn not to be individualistic, they tend to conform with others. In my opinion, Japanese method of education encourage children to be similar rather than to be independent.

Here, "tend to" would not be considered a hedge, for the same reason that "usually" would not be in the example above. However, in much the same way as "seem to" is used in the first excerpt, both "I feel" and "in my opinion" would be counted as hedges for reasons explained by the subject here, as well as in interviews later.

Admittedly, the criteria for identifying hedges were somewhat subjective, based as they were on the effect on the reader rather than on the intent of the writer. These reader impressions were checked, however, in later interviews with the subjects, and the subjects' interpretations of the purpose of these phrases can be found in the chapter on results. A list of hedges used can be found in the section on results.

Hedges in the first draft of each composition were included in the initial count. The number of hedges in each composition was determined and the percentage of T-units containing a hedge calculated for each composition. These percentages were then used for further statistical

analysis. Various averages of the frequency of occurrence and the standard deviation from the norm were calculated to indicate the regularity of the distribution of hedges within the texts. In addition, occurrences of the same hedge were counted and the group of expressions ranked according to their frequency of occurrence. The percent each hedge contributed to the total number of hedges was then calculated to determine the frequencies of their use relative to one another.

Questions were the third item to be counted. Anything the subject punctuated with a question mark was included in this count. Other questions, which were clearly intended as inquiries but were not punctuated as such, were also included in this count. An example of the latter is reprinted below exactly as it occurred in Keita's text: "Can't you hear their parents 'We just finished our nursing!'" A list of all the questions found is provided in the Appendix E. Totals per composition were determined, as were percentages of questions per total number of T-units in each composition. From these data, averages and standard deviation from the norm were computed.

In addition to T-units, hedges, and questions, clausal conjuncts were counted. Zamel, in her 1984 article on links in writing, defines such conjuncts as "those connectives more specifically referred to in grammars as coordinating conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions, and conjunctive adverbs or transitions" (p. 110). The same article includes a partial list of these conjuncts. This definition and list, along with the more comprehensive list of Halliday & Hasan (1976), provided the basis on which to determine what to include in the count. An additional criterion may be explained as follows. To be included in this count of

conjuncts, the word or phrase had to be linking clauses or units larger than clauses; and had to be used as a signal between these elements for the purpose of interpreting one or both of them. To illustrate how these criteria were used in the analysis, two excerpts from the student texts are reprinted below. The emphasis has been added for the purpose of discussion here. The first excerpt is an example from Keita's text; the second, from Naomi's.

Keita:

The Japanese, on the other hand, have regard for their appearance, even as a beginner. For example, if you go to the Japanese skiing slopes, you can see many people who have fashionable ski wear and expensive skiing equipment.

Naomi:

In a slum, the buildings are ruined and the places people live are very dirty. Because security systems are not adequate there, the crime rate is very high.

In the analysis of these texts, all of the underlined segments here were counted as clausal conjuncts except for the "and" in the first excerpt. As Keita has used the conjunction, it does not link clauses, but simply connects two noun phrases. However, the same conjunction, as Naomi has used it in the second excerpt, was included in the count, because it links two clauses.

Percentages of conjuncts per total number of T-units were figured, as were the relative frequencies of the use of particular conjuncts.

After completing all counts, and having read the samples through several times, the primary researcher alone examined the five longest of each subject's papers for answers to the following questions. Shorter papers were not included because this part of the analysis attended to interparagraph relationships. As printed below, the questions appear to

be both brief and general. A more thorough explanation of each, its purpose, and a clear definition of its scope can be found in the discussion of results.

Rhetorical Segmentation:

1. Was there a clear beginning, middle and/or end?
2. Were there fewer, more, or other parts than these?
3. How was each part structured?
4. How did each part function?
5. How did each part relate to the others?

Intersentential Relationships:

6. Within each of the rhetorical segments, how did the sentences progress?
7. How did each sentence relate to the others in the same segment?
8. Did sentences in one segment necessarily relate to those in another?
9. When they did relate, how were they related?

Paragraphing:

10. Were there paragraph breaks in the piece of writing?
11. Where did those breaks which occurred fall?
12. What were the possible relationships between paragraphs?

Rhetoric:

13. How can the overall pattern of organization be described or typologized?

Hierarchical Parallels:

14. Was there any relationship between the structure of

sentences, the arrangement of sentences within a paragraph or segment, and the arrangement of paragraphs or segments within the whole piece of writing?

Repetition of Patterns:

15. What, of the information gained from answers to the above questions, can be said to be similar, and what different, from one composition to the next?
16. How might any structural similarities be illustrated or typologized?

From this examination of the texts, as well as from the frequency counts, many questions were formed, the answers to which could be explained only by the writers themselves. These questions, along with many others derived from the researcher's experience teaching Japanese students, formed the basis of the interviews of the subjects.

INTERVIEWS

The researcher conducted both interviews. Each interview was arranged after subject and interviewer had been in contact for several months and had had several casual discussions in various settings. The subjects were each given a choice of two alternative locations for their interviews. To make everyone more comfortable during the taping, the researcher provided snacks and beverages in both situations. The format of each interview was open-ended and intended to draw the subject into an open discussion rather than follow a strict question-and-answer routine. Each was two hours long. The two interviews followed almost completely different paths; although both touched at some point on the following

issues:

1. rhetorical patterns consciously learned and/or used in the subject's Japanese writing
2. rhetorical patterns consciously learned and/or used in the subject's English writing
3. the purposes of and reasons for using various rhetorical patterns in the two languages
4. personal and cultural preferences for various patterns in relation to one another in various situations
5. identification of parts, or segments, within pieces of writing in each language as perceived and defined by the subject
6. the functions of these parts
7. how the subject decides where to begin and end a paragraph in English
8. coherence in English compared to coherence in Japanese
9. unity in English compared to unity in Japanese
10. the role of conjuncts in English
11. the purpose, meaning and use of hedges in English and Japanese
12. the changes a subject makes on a paper between drafts, and reasons for these changes
13. the subject's opinions about writing in general
14. the subject's opinions about writing in English
15. the subject's perceptions and opinions about the relationship between culture and writing style.

Keita was interviewed in an informal setting at the home of a friend of his who had previously tutored him in English, and who was known to the

interviewer as well. He chose this setting over the proposed alternative of a vacant room on his campus. His friend was at home, working in an adjoining room. The tape recorder was placed at the end of the table, within reach of both subject and interviewer. The papers Keita had submitted for analysis were also on the table. These and a supply of blank paper were available to both parties. During the interview, Keita referred several times to one or another of his papers. He drew diagrams of his descriptions and referred to them almost continually. The researcher followed Keita's lead in using the props at hand. Keita also mimicked the roles of teacher and student, as well as of other characters he used to illustrate his ideas, throughout the interview.

Naomi, too, was interviewed in an informal setting. Given a choice of a vacant room on her campus or the home of the interviewer, she chose the interviewer's home. The interview was private, with no one else in the apartment. Naomi's writing, blank paper and the tape recorder were on the table within reach of both parties. In the course of the interview, Naomi gestured at times toward her writing, but never actually referred to a specific example. She made no drawings or diagrams. The researcher followed Naomi's lead.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The results of this study include a quantification of several syntactic features observed in the English writing of two Japanese students, as well as a description of larger structural features affecting paragraphing and overall rhetorical patterns. Counts of T-units, main and subordinate clauses, words, hedges, questions, and clausal conjuncts are reported, along with various ratios determined from these data. The descriptive component includes a characterization of student essays in terms of the number and type of paragraphs and other subdivisions of content, the relationships between these parts, and the patterns used to organize texts as whole and single entities.

CLAUSES

The texts written by the two subjects are identified by their titles in Table I (p. 28). The first half summarizes the statistics gathered regarding number of clauses and words in Naomi's essays; and the second, those regarding Keita's.

TABLE I
CLAUSAL COMPONENTS OF TEXTS

Naomi	MC	SC	SC/MC	WRD	LTU	LC
Population Changes	5	5	1	104	20.80	10.40
The Best Way	6	9	.67	109	18.17	7.27
Why Japanese Go to	6	2	.33	62	10.33	7.75
How to Make a Call	6	2	.33	47	7.83	5.88
Learning English	7	1	.14	83	11.86	10.38
On a Sunny Day on	7	0	0	48	6.86	6.86
Business Letters a	9	5	.56	99	11.00	7.07
Kyle Saved His Bro	9	2	.22	82	9.11	7.45
Learning Foreign	10	1	.10	113	11.30	10.27
Portland Is a Good	11	6	.55	121	11.00	7.12
Reason Why We	12	4	.33	107	8.92	6.69
Oregon State Fair	13	3	.23	107	8.23	6.69
Welcome Home, Vingo	14	4	.29	151	10.79	8.39
A Fire	14	0	0	118	8.43	8.43
Results of Overpop	19	2	.11	194	10.21	9.34
Impression for Por	20	6	.30	158	7.90	6.08
Keita	MC	SC	SC/MC	WRD	LTU	LC
Religion	7	7	1	93	13.29	6.64
Choosing Partners	7	4	.57	93	13.29	8.45
"Dead Poets Society"	7	7	1	98	14.00	7.00
Love	9	2	.22	70	7.78	6.36
Pioneer	9	5	.55	99	11.00	7.07
About Myself and	11	3	.27	127	11.54	9.07
His Name Is Sail	11	2	.18	90	8.18	6.92
Writing Issues	12	4	.33	107	8.92	6.69
Christmas Cake	13	6	.46	162	12.46	8.53
Contrast My Life	14	5	.36	169	12.07	8.89
The Hardest Choice	14	8	.57	199	14.21	9.05
Positive and Negat	16	7	.44	255	15.94	11.09
Cultural Differenc	17	10	.59	187	11.00	6.93
Mystery	17	14	.82	269	15.82	8.68
Technological Inno	17	17	1	292	17.18	8.59
Changes in Family	18	10	.55	114	6.33	4.07
Small Talk	20	16	.8	208	10.40	5.68
My Story	25	13	.52	378	15.12	9.95
Attitude toward Sp	30	13	.43	431	14.37	10.02
About Fairy Tale	49	19	.35	491	10.02	7.22
Television Program	55	31	.56	742	13.49	8.63

MC: main clause/text SC: subordinate clauses/text

SC/MC: average number of subordinate clauses/main clause WRD: words/text

LTU: average number of words/T-unit LC: average number of words/clause

The texts are listed from top to bottom according to number of T-units contained in each, from shortest to longest. Reading from left to right, the first column of figures indicates the number of main clauses found in each text. This corresponds directly to the number of T-units, since a T-unit is defined as a main clause and any subordinate and/or embedded clauses attached to it.

Naomi's papers ranged in length from 5 to 20 T-units, the average length being 10.5, the median 9.5 and the mode 6 T-units. In comparison, Keita's texts were considerably longer, ranging from 7 to 55 T-units in length, with a mean of 18, a median of 14, and modes of 7 and 17 T-units per text.

In the second column from the left, the number of subordinate clauses is reported. For the purposes of the counting procedure used in this study, a subordinate clause is defined as a dependent or embedded clause that contains a finite verb. Structures subordinated through the use of infinitives, prepositional phrases involving gerunds, or participles are not included in the count.

Naomi subordinated a total of 52 clauses in her sixteen papers, while Keita subordinated 204 clauses in his twenty-one papers. By itself, however, this information is hardly useful. Only in relation to other data does it become relevant, as will be seen.

In order to interpret the statistics contained in the second and remaining columns, attention must be drawn to the presence of a potentially confounding factor. Both students employed in their writing what will here be referred to as sentential hedges. A sentential hedge is a clause such as I think or it seems to me, which either softens the

impact of the information contained in the subordinate or embedded clause(s), or indicates that the content is the writer's opinion. For example, in the sentence, It seems he knew he was supposed to go., it seems is a sentential hedge and would be considered the main clause for the purposes of the counts reported here, while he knew would be a subordinate clause, even though it may be considered the clause of primary importance due to its content.

In Table I, no adjustment has been made to account for sentential hedges and their effect on the number of subordinate clauses, the total number of clauses, the number of words in a text, T-unit or clause length, or any ratios calculated from these data. Instead, a separate section is included at the end of the report on clauses (p. 34). It presents averages and totals obtained by excluding the hedges altogether from the various counts and clauses, and recalculating the ratios with the modified data are presented. The two sets of data combined may be more useful than either set alone in facilitating an understanding of the subjects' handling of sentence structure.

Still moving from left to right, the third column presents the ratio of subordinate to main clauses in each text, and indicates the relative degree of subordination employed by the writer (not including that accomplished through the use of participial, prepositional and infinitival phrases). Naomi subordinated an average of .31 clauses for every main clause. Keita subordinated an average of .54 clauses for every main clause. These figures seem to indicate that Keita relied much more heavily on subordination than did Naomi.

In the central column is the number of words in each text. This

figure was used to calculate the average lengths of T-units and clauses reported in the next and last columns, respectively. Both the length of T-unit and the length of clause were calculated in the hopes that they might yield information regarding maturity or mastery of the written language. Figure 1, below, illustrates the fluctuation in the length of these two units relative to one another. A detailed interpretation of this graph can be found in the discussion of results in chapter five.

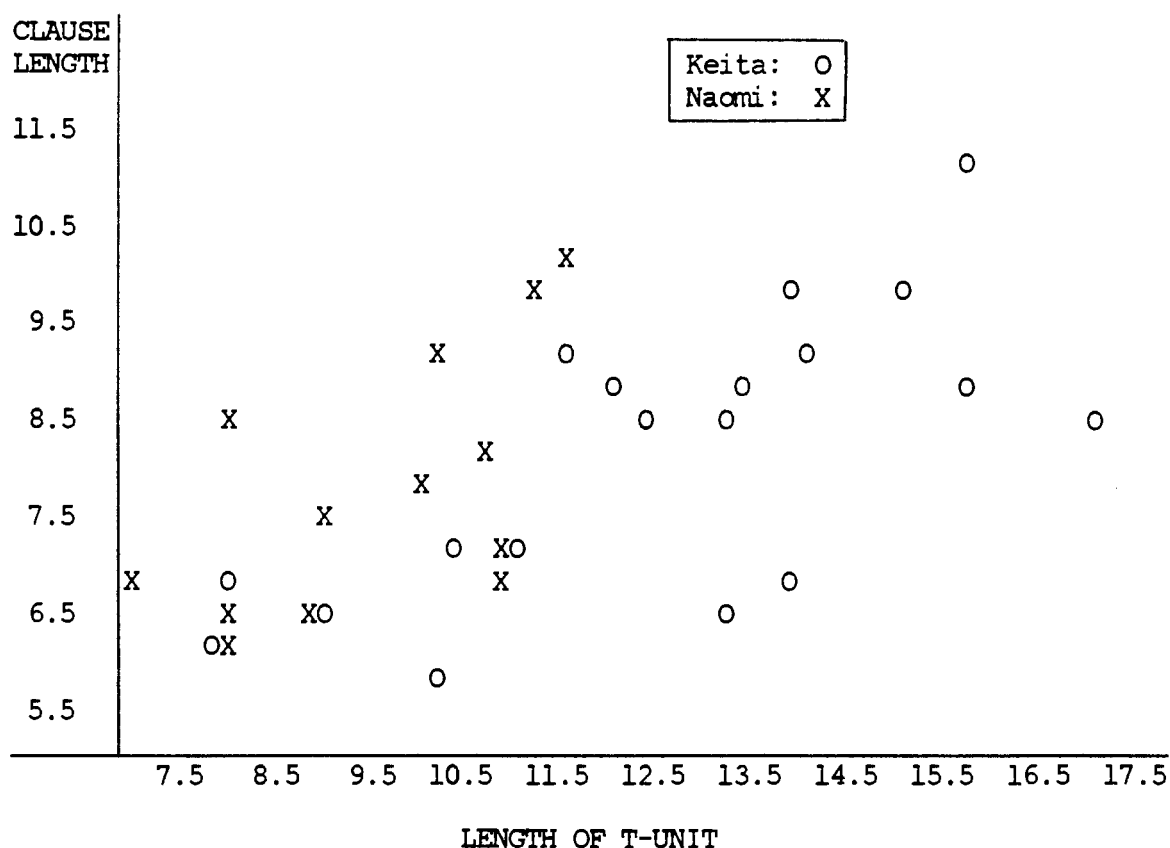


Figure 1. Relationship of clause length and T-unit length.

Naomi wrote a total of 1703 words in a body of 16 texts, representing an average of 106 words per text. The amount of writing collected from Keita was considerably greater, a total of 4674 words in

a body of 21 texts, with an average text length of 223 words, more than twice the length of Naomi's average text.

The degree of difference in T-unit and clause length produced by the two writers is not as readily apparent, however, because the number of words per clause is relatively small in comparison to the number of words in a text. Naomi's T-units ranged in length from 6.86 to 20.80 words, a span of approximately 14 words. The average length of her T-units was 10.14 while that of Keita's was 12.37. Keita's T-units ranged from 6.33 words to 17.18, a span of just under 11 words. On the average, Keita's T-units were 18 percent longer than those written by Naomi.

A comparison of clause length reveals a quite different relationship between the two bodies of texts. The average length of clauses in Naomi's writing was 7.74 words; in Keita's writing, 8.04 words. Keita's clauses were only 4 percent longer on an average than were Naomi's. Her clauses ranged in length from 5.88 words to 10.40; his ranged from 4.07 to 11.09. In this case, his range was the broader by 2.5 words.

As has been mentioned, because the use of sentential hedges directly affects the statistics reported in this section, a second set of results is presented below. In order to obtain these results, the sentential hedges were basically deleted from the subjects' texts, and the same analysis as above was performed on the resultant bodies of writing. For example, to obtain the converted set of data, in the sentence, It seems he knew he was supposed to go., the hedge it seems would not have been counted at all; he knew would have been counted as the main clause; and he was supposed to go would have been counted as a subordinate clause. The number of words would have been reported as 7, in this case the same

as the length of the T-unit. The ratio of subordinate to main clauses would have been calculated to be 1.

The reason for converting the entire set of data is that use of a hedge will add to the length of a T-unit, the number of subordinate clauses, and the total length of a text without adding to the degree of sophistication of the writing. In fact, according to American reader interpretations, in an otherwise objective piece of writing, the use of sentential hedges may be considered a sign of incomplete mastery of the written form. Further interpretation of the significance of the use of sentential hedges can be found in the hedges and questions section of the results and in the discussion in the following chapter.

HEDGES AND QUESTIONS

Keita used hedges a total of 63 times in a body of texts 378 T-units long. This indicates that 17 percent of the T-units contained hedges. By comparison, Naomi used hedges a total of only 4 times in a body of texts 168 T-units long. Only 2 percent of her T-units contained hedges.

The median percentage of hedges per composition in Keita's writing was 22, and the mode 13. Whereas Naomi used hedges too infrequently to warrant a statistical analysis of her use of them, Keita used them regularly enough that sentential qualification appears to be a regular feature of his academic writing in English. Because of this difference, the remaining discussion of the use of hedges refers wholly to Keita's writing, except where otherwise indicated.

Almost half of the occurrences of hedges used the phrase I think, with the rest involving one of ten other hedges. (All four of Naomi's

TABLE II
 CONVERTED FIGURES OF CLAUSAL COMPONENTS OF TEXTS

Naomi	MC	SC	SC/MC	WRD	LTU	LC
Population Changes	5	5	1	104	20.80	10.40
The Best Way	6	8	.75	107	17.83	7.64
Why Japanese Go to	6	1	.17	60	10.00	8.57
How to Make a Call	6	2	.33	47	7.83	5.88
Learning English	7	0	0	81	11.57	11.57
On a Sunny Day on	7	0	0	48	6.86	6.86
Business Letters a	9	5	.56	99	11.00	7.07
Kyle Saved His Bro	9	2	.22	82	9.11	7.45
Learning Foreign	10	1	.10	113	11.30	10.27
Portland Is a Good	11	5	.55	119	10.82	7.44
Reason Why We	12	4	.33	107	8.92	6.69
Oregon State Fair	13	3	.23	107	8.23	6.69
Welcome Home, Vingo	14	4	.29	151	10.79	8.39
A Fire	14	0	0	118	8.43	8.43
Results of Overpop	19	2	.11	194	10.21	9.34
Impression for Por	20	6	.30	158	7.90	6.08
Keita	MC	SC	SC/MC	WRD	LTU	LC
Religion	7	6	1	90	12.86	6.92
Choosing Partners	7	3	.57	91	13.00	9.10
"Dead Poets Society"	7	3	1	89	12.71	8.90
Love	9	2	.22	70	7.77	6.36
Pioneer	9	4	.55	96	10.67	7.38
About Myself and	11	1	.27	122	11.09	10.17
His Name Is Sail	11	2	.18	90	8.18	6.92
Writing Issues	12	3	.33	103	8.58	6.87
Christmas Cake	13	4	.46	157	12.08	9.24
Contrast My Life	14	5	.36	169	12.07	8.89
The Hardest Choice	14	6	.57	194	13.85	9.70
Positive and Negat	16	3	.44	243	15.19	12.79
Cultural Differenc	17	6	.59	177	10.41	7.79
Mystery	17	12	.82	264	15.53	9.10
Technological Inno	17	15	1	286	16.82	8.94
Changes in Family	18	7	.55	106	5.89	4.24
Small Talk	20	16	.8	208	10.40	5.78
My Story	25	12	.52	376	15.04	10.16
Attitude toward Sp	30	8	.43	419	13.97	11.03
About Fairy Tale	49	15	.35	482	9.84	7.53
Television Program	55	20	.56	701	12.75	9.35

MC: main clause/text SC: subordinate clauses/text
 SC/MC: average number of subordinate clauses/main clause WRD: words/text
 LTU: average number of words/T-unit LC: average number of words/clause

hedges were I think). Of the remainder, only one other phrase accounted for more than ten percent of the qualifiers. Expressions involving the word seems comprised this hedge category. A complete list of hedges used, their incidence and percent of the total number of hedges is shown in Table III (p. 36).

One item in the list requires explanation, i.e., expressions using you know. These were counted as hedges because they appeared to represent some kind of politeness strategy. Though to some extent they functioned as expletives, they also served to introduce the reader to background knowledge the writer intimated he expected he could assume. Because of the high frequency and dual function of this expression, it was interpreted as a face-saving device; thus it is included in the discussion of hedges. (Later interviews with Keita confirmed this interpretation.)

For economy of space, percentages per composition of both hedge and question use are shown in Table IV (p. 37). (Keita was the only subject to use questions in his writing.)

In a holistic evaluation of the compositions, the use of questions also appeared to be a regular stylistic feature of Keita's English writing. In a total of 378 T-units, he included 31 questions; i.e., 8 percent of the T-units contained questions. The total number of questions per composition, and the corresponding percentages of questions per number of T-units in each composition, are listed in Table IV (p. 37). A comprehensive list of all the questions posed can be found in Appendix E.

Most of the questions used functioned in one of two ways: either to specify, illustrate, or otherwise narrow the focus or to shift the focus or change the subject completely. Because questions might have been

TABLE III
INCIDENCE OF HEDGES

Hedge	Incidence	% Total Hedges
I think	25	40
seems	12	19
probably	5	8
(as) you know	5	8
basically	3	5
I/we can say	3	5
perhaps	2	3
in general/generally	2	3
in my opinion	2	3
modal	2	3
maybe	1	2
I suspect	1	2

TABLE IV
FREQUENCY OF INCIDENCE OF HEDGES AND QUESTIONS

Title	Total T-units	Total Hedges	Sent. Hedges	Total Quests	% Quests
Television Program	55	15	29	2	4
About Fairy Tale	49	6	14	3	6
Attitude toward Sp	30	6	18	6	20
My Story	25	1	5	3	12
Small Talk	20	1	6	0	0
Changes in Family	18	4	29	2	11
Technological Inno	17	2	13	3	18
Mystery	17	2	1	1	6
Cultural Differenc	17	4	25	1	6
Positive and Negat	16	7	18	2	13
The Hardest Choice	14	2	13	1	7
Contrast My Life	14	0	0	0	0
Christmas Cake	13	4	44	3	23
Writing Issues	12	1	9	2	17
His Name is Sail	11	1	13	0	0
About Myself and	11	2	2	0	0
Pioneer	9	1	11	1	11
Love	9	0	0	0	0
"Dead Poets Society"	7	4	44	1	14
Choosing Partners	7	1	13	0	0
Religion	7	1	13	0	0

used to control the direction and flow of the texts, they may warrant examination in future studies of rhetorical devices.

CONJUNCTS

As is evident from Table V (p. 38), Keita used clausal conjuncts a total of 161 times, while Naomi used them a total of 60 times. For the purpose of considering clausal conjunct use as an index of coherence, the ratios of conjunct incidence relative to the total number of T-units and total number of clauses have been figured.

TABLE V
CONJUNCTS RELATIVE TO CLAUSES

	Keita	Naomi
# Texts	21	16
T-units	378	168
Total # Clauses	531	216
Subordinate Clauses	203	52
Average Ratio SC/MC	.54	.31
Conjunct Incidence	161	60
# Conjuncts/T-unit	.43	.36
# Conjuncts/Clause	.30	.28

In general, the two greatest differences in the subjects' use of conjuncts were that Keita used a much greater variety of clausal conjuncts and that he used therefore with a relatively high frequency, while Naomi did not use it at all. The frequency of total conjunct usage per text in both Naomi's and Keita's writing is summarized in Table VI on page 39.

TABLE VI
FREQUENCY OF CLAUSAL CONJUNCT USAGE

Naomi	MC	SC	CNJT	SC/MC	LT	LC
Population Changes	5	5	2	1	20.80	10.40
The Best Way	6	9	3	.67	18.17	7.27
Why Japanese Go to	6	2	4	.33	10.33	7.75
How to Make a Call	6	2	6	.33	7.83	5.88
Learning English	7	1	5	.14	11.86	10.38
On a Sunny Day on	7	0	1	0	6.86	6.86
Business Letters	9	5	3	.56	11.00	7.07
Kyle Saved His Bro	9	2	2	.22	9.11	7.45
Learning Foreign	10	1	3	.10	11.30	10.27
Portland Is a Good	11	6	3	.55	11.00	7.12
Reason Why We Lear	12	4	3	.33	8.92	6.69
Oregon State Fair	13	3	3	.23	8.23	6.69
Welcome Home,	14	4	3	.29	10.79	8.39
A Fire	14	0	5	0	8.43	8.43
Results of Overpop	19	2	6	.11	10.21	9.34
Impression for Por	20	6	8	.30	7.90	6.08
Keita						
Religion	7	7	3	1	13.29	6.64
Choosing Partners	7	4	4	.57	13.29	8.45
"Dead Poets Society"	7	7	1	1	14.00	7.00
Love	9	2	1	.22	7.78	6.36
Pioneer	9	5	2	.55	11.00	7.07
About Myself and	11	3	6	.27	11.54	9.07
His Name Is Sail	11	2	4	.18	8.18	6.92
Writing Issues	12	4	3	.33	8.92	6.69
Christmas Cake	13	6	7	.46	12.46	8.53
Contrast My Life	14	5	8	.36	12.07	8.89
The Hardest Choice	14	8	9	.57	14.21	9.05
Positive and Negat	16	7	8	.44	15.94	11.09
Cultural Differenc	17	10	10	.59	11.00	6.93
Mystery	17	14	8	.82	15.82	8.68
Technological Inno	17	17	8	1	17.18	8.59
Changes in Family	18	10	7	.55	6.33	4.07
Small Talk	20	16	2	.8	10.40	5.68
My Story	25	13	11	.52	15.12	9.95
Attitude toward	30	13	14	.43	14.37	10.02
About Fairy Tale	49	19	21	.35	10.02	7.22
Television Program	55	31	24	.56	13.49	8.63

The differences between the conjunct use of the two writers can be seen in Table VII. Conjuncts were classified first according to semantic function so that preference for different conjuncts with similar meanings would be apparent. The asterisks in the column at the far right indicate those conjuncts used by both writers. There are noticeably few of them.

TABLE VII
TYPES OF CLAUSAL CONJUNCTS (GROUPED BY SEMANTIC FUNCTION)

	Total	K	N	K&N
Summatives				
and	34	16	18	*
and also	7	6	1	*
also	2	1	1	*
besides	1	1	0	
moreover	1	0	1	
Contrastors				
but	35	23	12	*
however	12	11	1	*
on the other hand	4	4	0	
and on the other hand	1	1	0	
the other side	1	1	0	
although	3	3	0	
despite	1	1	0	
Cause and Effect Indicators				
because	24	15	9	*
so	19	14	5	*
therefore	12	12	0	
Sequencers				
first of all	4	4	0	
first	3	1	2	*
second	6	4	2	*
third	2	1	1	*
at first	1	0	1	
at last	1	0	1	
then	7	4	3	*
and then	1	0	1	
next	1	0	1	

TABLE VII
 TYPES OF CLAUSAL CONJUNCTS (GROUPED BY SEMANTIC FUNCTION)
 (continued)

after that	1	1	0
Illustrators			
for example	7	7	0
for instance	1	1	0
Specifiers of Level of Generality			
in general	1	1	0
generally	1	1	0
basically	3	3	0
Emphasizers/ Proofs			
actually	2	2	0
in fact	5	5	0
of course	2	2	0
but of course	1	1	0
Paraphrasers			
in other words	3	3	0
Optives			
or	2	2	0
Subject Changers			
anyway	6	6	0
by the way	3	3	0
Totals	221	161	60

Of the thirty-eight clausal conjuncts used, only eleven were used by both subjects. These eleven account for sixty-eight percent of all clausal conjunct usage and serve only four functions. They are listed below in order of frequency of occurrence, from high to low.

TABLE VIII

HIGH FREQUENCY CONJUNCT CONTRIBUTION TO TOTAL CONJUNCT USE

but	16%
and	15%
because	11%
so	9%
however	5%
and also	3%
then	3%
second	3%
first	1%
third	1%
also	1%
<hr/>	
	68%

Perhaps more useful in understanding the relationship between clausal conjuncts and coherence is a look at the relative proportions of the use of clausal conjuncts as coordinating conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions, and conjunctive adverbs. The clausal conjuncts used by subjects in this study are classified in Table IX (p. 42) according to grammatical function.

TABLE IX

TYPES OF CLAUSAL CONJUNCTS (GROUPED BY GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION)

<u>CLAUSAL ADVERBS:</u>			<u>COORDINATORS:</u>
	first of all	for example	
and also	first	for instance	and
also	second	in general	but
besides	third	generally	so
moreover	at first	basically	or
however	at last	in other words	
on the other hand	then	anyway	<u>SUBORDINATORS:</u>
and on the other hand	and then	by the way	
the other side	next		although
therefore	after that		despite

Attention to the use of conjuncts revealed certain patterns in the students' writing. No connector or transition was consistently used inappropriately; in fact, few errors could be found at all. Occasionally, Keita made an error that seemed to fall in the domain of contextual restraints, suggesting the problem was pragmatic rather than semantic or syntactic. The errors occurred where was attempting to shift the reader's focus. For example, after developing an idea in a general-to-specific pattern, and trying to move back out to the next general subtopic, he used a connector too weak to bridge the breadth of the gap. Generally, his error was to use but where however was needed.

A few errors occurred when Keita attempted to shift the focus to a related concern that did not fit into the hierarchical pattern at all. This would seem to be due to the influence of Japanese culture and/or language since the relationship he was attempting to draw is a type accepted and valued in Japanese rhetoric. Keita talked about his struggle with this issue in the interview, as is discussed in Chapter V.

Both students' organizational strategies at the sentence, paragraph, and rhetorical levels appeared to be fairly consistent. As is apparent in the report on clauses, about half of the sentences were simple or compound; and about half, complex sentences consisting of two clauses. Most of the sentences contained no more than one to three clauses. An occasional sentence contained three or more clauses. Of those sentences composed of two or more clauses in Keita's writing, many were conditionals using if. Also in his writing, there were frequent instances in which three or more clauses could readily have been combined into a more complex sentence simply by changing the punctuation; but he either did not

recognize this was the case, or did not know how to punctuate sentences this way. (A third alternative, that he was aware of the opportunity to form a more complex structure, knew how, and consciously chose not to, is unlikely. In his interview, he expressed clearly and adamantly his desire to use more complex structures to express himself more fully.) Because he left many related sentences uncombined, a pattern emerged of beginning many sentences with a conjunct. A corollary to this, of course, is that few conjuncts occurred in the middle of sentences, between clauses, with the rare exception of and or but.

RHETORIC

Throughout most of the students' writing, sentences within a paragraph were arranged in either an inductive or deductive linear pattern. The number of each type of pattern was not counted, however; so it is unknown which arrangement was more common. There was some evidence that paragraphs which followed a general to specific pattern often ended with a general sentence only slightly different from the lead sentence. The relationship between the first and last sentences in these paragraphs was much like that prescribed for introductions and conclusions in English rhetoric. In all of the writing, except where the style was narrative, a sort of thesis or topic sentence began each paragraph. These sentences were either an illustration of the idea to be developed or a general statement of it. Occasionally, the lead sentence was a question.

All but three of the four shortest of Keita's samples were broken into paragraphs; whereas almost all of Naomi's samples were single paragraphs only. As a result, the remaining description of the overall

rhetorical pattern pertains only to Keita's texts. In his writing, all of the paragraph breaks fell where a change in focus occurred. Not all shifts in focus were indicated by a paragraph break, however. Concerning those that were not, a distinct pattern was discernable. Sometimes, when he shifted the focus to a different aspect of the same topic, he did not begin a new paragraph. The most notable incidents of run-on paragraphs involved something quite different, however. These paragraphs displayed a marked change in subject, so marked, in fact, that the relationship between the new idea and that which immediately preceded it could only be determined by inference. Often the second idea was followed in the next sentence by a third idea, just as distantly related to the others as the second was to the first. The third might then be followed by two or three more. Thus was the essay concluded. The sample text below (printed in its entirety exactly as Keita wrote it) illustrates the rhetorical pattern described above.

I think there many cultures in the world. And these cultures has been effected by history. In other words, each country has it own cultur that constst it own history. So I try to discribe culture differences between the U.S and Japan. First of all, attitud for problems is different. I think, when people from Western countries try to solve a problem, they usually try to solve with positive attitude. But it seems to me, when Japanse try to solve their problems, their attitude is always negative. Why is that? I think, Japanese history has been ofganized from agricultural people. So, they usually depend on nutural. For example when they make rice, they seed in the soil and they hope good weather. They think, the result depends on the weather. The way of thinking relate Japanese negative attitude.

The people from Western country, on the other hand, their way of thinking is very positive. Because, their history has been organized by hunting people. They had to find animals for their diet from ancient.

Anyway, we have to respect the culture each ather, as well as understand.

It might reasonably be stated that Keita's samples demonstrated clear beginnings and middles, but fuzzy and inconclusive endings. In a sense, it could be said that the essays contained two middles--the first a development of the ideas put forward early in the paper, and the second an introduction of new, distantly related subthemes--and a brief, inferred conclusion.

In contrast to the latter half of each essay, the first half closely resembled the sort of linear progression derived from a hierarchical outline. The first paragraph of each introduced a general theme stated as the topic of the essay. Subsequent paragraphs modified and developed that theme up to the pivotal point previously mentioned. In some of the essays, the arrangement of sentences within two adjacent paragraphs was closely parallel. This was most noticeable when the subject of the two paragraphs was a comparison of some feature in two different situations. The excerpt below, reprinted exactly as it occurred in Keita's text, illustrates this parallel clearly.

In my opinion, people from Western countries think of themselves as individuals. Children of Western countries are taught to consider themselves individuals from an early age. Therefore, they can choose appropriate sports equipment for each of their own sports skills.

Japanese people tend to think of themselves as part of group. And Japanese children learn not to be individualistic, they tend to conform with others. So, they are apt to pretend other's wear [clothing] or equipment rather than to choose appropriate equipment for each of their own ability. To be a same position with others is very important in Japanese culture.

In analyzing the organization of texts, certainly the most noticeable trait was the overall rhetorical pattern. Keita's writing may be characterized as follows. Each essay contained a clearly stated topic

which was different from its implied focus. The topic was stated early in the essay. The body of the essay was devoted to developing ideas put forward in the introduction and stated as the topic. In the last two to four sentences of the essay, the writing shifted from this topic to the implied focus. This focus was always indicated in the last few sentences of the essay, though never stated directly, and would generally be described as "the moral" in English writing.

This pattern was apparent not only at the rhetorical level, but in a parallel manner, at the paragraph and sentence levels as well. The parallel relationship supports Christiansen's claim (1965, p. 144) that such patterns tend to recur at all levels because "they are the channels our minds naturally run in, whether we are writing a sentence or a paragraph or planning a paper."

Naomi's longer works, though few, did not fit this description at all. Instead, they followed the pattern of direct statement of thesis, development, and restatement of thesis prescribed in so many writing programs and commonly viewed as typical English rhetoric. An example of her writing is reprinted below without alteration of any kind.

One result of overpopulation is such social problems as discrimination, family violence and crime. Discrimination produce problems of crime and family violence.

Overpopulation will produce a differend of a class and create discrimination. High class people look down on the lower class people. They live in different places and in different ways. Lower people are poor and this produces crime and family violence.

Low class people can't live in certain places and often must live in slums. In a slum, the buildings are ruined and the places people live are very dirty. Because security systems are not adequate there, the crime rate is very high.

Because of one's overpopulation, it's hard to have one's own house or to get a good job. Because people are poor there will often be family violence. It is not good for people to live in bad environments, they also are a bad influence on

children.

The results of overpopulation are discrimination, crime and family violence. We can't seem to be able to stop the increasing population and the crime rate has been rising up. We have to consider the consequences of overpopulation before it is too late.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING

In this chapter the results of the writing analysis are discussed along with the interviews of the subjects. The discussion proceeds in roughly the same sequence as that used to report the results. Implications for teaching are partially interwoven; however, a large segment of the following chapter is devoted solely to explanation of how the findings of the study can be applied to teaching and to student/teacher and student/student relationships.

In preceding chapters, several series of questions were posed regarding the English writing of Japanese students and the attitudes Japanese students hold towards writing. In this and the following chapter, an attempt is made to answer all of the questions posed. The reader needs to remember, however, that these answers are based only on a study of two writers, so should not be accepted as necessarily true or accurate for Japanese writers in general. There is great variety among the members of any cultural group, including the Japanese; and one of the goals of this study was to compile information that might help teachers get beyond the stereotypes of Japanese writers which can easily confine teachers' relationships with these students and restrict their effectiveness in helping the writers grow.

CLAUSES

In the data adapted to exclude the influence of sentential hedges, the mean clause length in Naomi's writing was reported as 7.85 words; and that in Keita's, as 8.54. (The raw measures of clause lengths are slightly lower). According to the measures of average clause length of native speakers in Hunt's definitive study of T-units (in which the number of subjects was 72), this would place Naomi's writing on a par with that of Americans in seventh grade and Keita's on a par with that of Americans beginning twelfth. So, although the difference between the two writers' clause lengths appears small quantitatively, it may be that in terms of writing development it is actually quite large.

A similar comparison of the Japanese subjects' average length of T-units places their writing at the levels of seventh grade and eighth grade, respectively. So, by this measure, both Keita and Naomi seem to have reached the same point of development.

The subordination index places the Japanese writers with an even younger group. The ratio of clauses per T-unit in Naomi's writing corresponds to that found in the writing of low fourth graders, while the same ratio in Keita's writing corresponds to that found in the writing of advanced seventh graders. This gap between the two Japanese students is comparable to that found by measuring clause length; however, it appears that subordination is developing more slowly than T-unit length.

That significant differences exist between the writing of adult native speakers in Hunt's study and the writing of these Japanese students suggests that clause analysis may be a useful tool for describing the

differences between the rhetoric of ESL students and that of native speakers. If Hunt is right in concluding that T-unit and mean clause lengths are the best measures of writing maturity, and the subordination ratio almost as good, then, according to the results of this study, these measures may be useful in developing a clearly defined target of rhetorical forms that could be used in ESL instruction. At the very least, it may provide ESL teachers with a quantitative basis on which to analyze and evaluate the rhetorical development of their students, particularly if the changes in these measures can be plotted along a regular pattern of development.

Because many rhetorical devices may be considered stylistic features, and one style or another preferred by a given culture, it may be useful to compare the features of the Japanese students' writing with the stylistic features found in the fiction of some well-known writers who are native speakers of English. Faulkner and Hemmingway serve as two good examples because their syntactic styles are often considered to be two opposing extremes on a broad continuum. Hunt found that Faulkner tends to extend the length of clauses and T-units to approximately 50 percent beyond the average of twelfth graders, but that his ratio of subordination is almost the same as that of twelfth graders. Hemmingway, on the other hand, greatly reduces T-unit length and ratio of subordination, but holds his clause length to about the same as twelfth-graders' (Hunt, 1965, p. 309).

These differences between extremes indicate that even within the large rhetorical community of English speakers, there is a wide range of accepted and respected styles of clause handling. They also suggest,

however, that a clause length of approximately 8.6 words may be the minimum expected of adults by readers. This may be because for native speakers, "most of the growth in clause length occur[s] early in the school years" (Hunt, p. 308), with subordination developing later. Because of the interplay between clause length and subordination, length of T-unit grows steadily and relatively evenly from fourth grade on.

Taking this growth pattern into account, differences between native speakers' and these students' writing development may be characterized more accurately. It appears that both Keita and Naomi are following a pattern of sentence development similar to that of native speakers in that clause length is developing first, but different in that subordination development is lagging further behind clause lengthening than in the process of native speakers. According to all measures, Keita is apparently further along in the process than Naomi.

In effect, clause length may be a weighted variable in the eyes of readers, and the single most important index of sentential development in English. However, given the fact that one of the subjects of this study is nearing what seems to be the minimal clause length accepted for adults and still has not achieved a native sound, clause length may not be the discriminating factor ESL teachers are looking for to direct students to a target in rhetorical form. This information, combined with the idea that subordination and length of T-unit may vary more widely than clause length and still be acceptable to the rhetorical community, suggests that the rhetorical problems of Japanese students writing in English do not stem from the way clauses are handled in sentential development.

HEDGES

In the clausal analysis performed for this study, sentential hedges were identified as a confounding factor because their preponderance in Keita's writing accounts for a significant amount of subordination which is different in its effect on the reader than other subordination. To understand the writer's purpose in using these hedges, as well as their effect on the writing as a whole, all hedges, both sentential and phrasal, were analyzed.

For this analysis, hedges were defined as words and phrases which soften the impact of the sentence or clause they modify, or which lessen the certainty of the idea reported in the modified clause. Often, they are used to indicate the information connected to them is subjective in character, and thus open for dispute. In separate interviews, both subjects confirmed this interpretation of their purpose in using hedges. Keita, in particular, talked at length about them. In the following excerpt from the interview with him, "K:" indicates Keita's speech, while "I:" indicates the interviewer's speech.

K:

I have to point out one more thing about Japanese writing. Last year, I used to use perhaps, seems . . . these words in my composition . . . many of these words . . . to avoid, avoid [In] Japanese, . . . if I accuse someone, I need to use . . . superficial, not direct I'm not supposed to use the word direct; I'll have to use another word. I'll replace another word; it's same thing: "Perhaps he is wrong. Perhaps, maybe he is wrong. He seems" I'll use these words to avoid to suffer another person the blame. I really want to say, "He's wrong! He's nasty guy!" but, this is too much. If his logic is this, he will understand my mind. We Japanese, we can understand each other OUR way: not, not language, implication.

I:

Do you use more of these words if it's a stronger feeling?

K:
Mhm, mhm.

I:
And if it's a weak feeling, you don't need as much?

K:
Yes, yea, yea, yea, yea, yea, yes, yes.

I:
So, if someone went to a whole lot of trouble to be careful, I could infer from that, this person had a very strong feeling?

K:
Yea, yea, yea, yea.

I:
Yea?

K:
So, my compositions have many seems, perhaps, and I avoided to express directly. This is Japanese way.

I:
Are you more comfortable with that style of using the hedges?

K:
Yes, yes, because if I want to describe or express this thing, maybe you need native try to express about this direct and persuade another people, but Japanese style is . . . maybe I'll try to express this first . . . not direct: a little, and a little, and a little; maybe this; . . . perhaps, perhaps . . . and also seems In Japanese, it's enough, enough to express the content, and I can persuade another, another reader.

I:
Will all Japanese students of English tend to use those words a lot?

K:
Yes.

I:
Is it kind of a cultural style?

K:
Yes . . . yes. Okay, if I try to write something in Japanese, we . . . many times we can use the same meanings: perhaps or seem and feel; but . . . so maybe the way . . . so even in English we try to use the word perhaps, feel, seem . . . and

these words cause a native speaker [to think]: "I can't understand that," and "what is his point?" I understand what and how to write English, English composition, so I change my style; but even though I learned this style, if I get back to Japan, and if I write something, I'll use these words [hedges] in sentence.

I:

In Japanese style, let's say you're hoping someone will agree with you, and you are talking about your subject. Is that person probably going to agree with you more easily if you use words like seem?

K:

In Japan, to express directly, maybe people will be uncomfortable, and so we usually use these words.

Naomi, likewise, expressed the importance of indirectness to the Japanese, but she also explained that when writing in English, she purposely avoids hedges "because if I use maybe or perhaps, I think it's not [good] composition. I think I shouldn't use maybe or perhaps." When asked where she got this idea, she responded, "Maybe high school or junior high school teacher I think told me." The response is interesting in two ways. One, it indicates that there are at least some teachers in Japan who are consciously guiding students away from the indirect pattern. Two, it is interesting because Naomi's response, itself, is an illustration of frequent use of hedges. Despite the fact that her speech during the interview was full of hedges, she succeeds in avoiding them almost completely when she writes. For Keita, the same cannot be said, for although he indicates in his interviews that eventually he realized the use of many hedges would be negatively evaluated, he continued to rely on them in writing for some time.

Accounting for the difference in the practice of the two writers when their awareness is about the same is not a simple matter. Age may

play a part, but so might personality, priorities in the thinking/writing process, willingness to adjust culturally, and many other factors. What is clear is that, given the same message, different students can react differently. This implies that writing teachers would do well to use various approaches to a single issue and to offer students more than one strategy for handling the language involved. For example, in this case, informing Naomi of the negative evaluation was enough to help her not use hedges. For Keita, instructions on how to edit the hedges out of his writing after completing the first draft (as one teacher eventually taught him) proved to be a more effective tool.

At the sentence level, hedges act as semantic qualifiers. When used often enough, they begin to affect the rhythm of the language and create a sound of continuity in the prose as well. In this way, they can become inter-sentential unifiers which lack the semantic component of conjuncts. The result can be both beneficial and problematic. It is beneficial in that it makes the prose read with fluidity, lending it a native sound, as in the following excerpt from Keita's work.

I think nobody would doubt that we live in a technological age. But will technology always give us solutions for the problems that we may encounter in future? It seems to me young people, especially, are very optimistic in their outlook, and many of them believe that new technological discoveries will continue to bring new ways of life for us. In fact, we already find many examples of robotlike machines doing many jobs in industries. However, what about this problem of technological innovations and employment?

In this introductory paragraph of one of Keita's compositions, the use of hedges is hardly noticeable on first reading. The paragraph as a whole sounds like it could have come from some kind of letter to the editor. When the reader considers each sentence carefully, however, an

interesting pattern emerges. Every sentence begins with either a hedge or a clausal conjunct. Here, the hedges do not sound necessarily non-native, nor inappropriate to the context in which they're used. They help to establish and maintain a steady rhythm in the prose and make the writing sound conversational.

However, hedges can be problematic in that overuse of hedges can impede cohesion. If a hedge is used where a conjunct is needed, the rhythmic need for a connector is filled while the semantic and syntactic need for a link is left void. Furthermore, because the hedges contribute to fluidity, they are not readily identifiable as the source (or a source) of a problem. Consider the following of Keita's (emphasis added):

First of all, attitude for problems is different. I think when people from Western countries try to solve a problem, they usually try to solve with positive attitude. But it seems to me, when Japanese try to solve their problems, their attitude is always negative. Why is that? I think, Japanese history has been organized from agricultural people. So, they usually depend on natural.

Again, at a glance, the hedges in this paragraph of Keita's may not seem to be causing any problems. Notice what happens to the coherence, however, when appropriate conjuncts are substituted for the hedges, and the need for the question eliminated in the process, as in the following reprint of the same excerpt cited above, this time with modifications added by the researcher (emphasis added as well):

First of all, attitude for problems is different. For example, when people from Western countries try to solve a problem, they usually try to solve with positive attitude. But, by contrast, when Japanese try to solve their problems, their attitude is always negative. Because Japanese history has been organized from agricultural people, they usually depend on natural.

The parallelism becomes clearer, and as a result, the contrast sharper. The need for the writer to include a parallel cause and effect statement regarding Western history's influence on Westerners' attitudes becomes more apparent, because the comparison is now in focus. A look at the thesis statement and introduction directly preceding this paragraph in the essay confirms this need for support. (The following text is copied without alteration).

I think there are many cultures in the world. And these cultures has been effected by history. In other words, each country has it own cultur that constst it oun history. So I try to discribe culture differences between the U.S and Japan.

The writer's intention is to establish a direct connection early in the paper between a society's history and its culture. This direct comparison will then become the jumping-off point from which the writer launches into a comparison of culture, his goal being to show that contemporary differences in culture are historically based. To American readers, leaving out the cause and effect statement which would explain the roots of Western culture historically is likely to be interpreted as a flaw in the logic of the argument. When the language of the writing becomes more direct, i.e., when the hedges are replaced with indices of the relationships between ideas, it becomes easier for the reader to identify the missing link. Likewise, it becomes clearer how hedges can sometimes camouflage the path of reasoning or logic the writer is following. Within a single paragraph, the effect may not be dramatic; however, if the pattern is sustained throughout an essay, the degree of obscurity tends to grow exponentially with each paragraph, because earlier paragraphs create the context for those later.

As can be seen from the example above, the substitution of needed conjuncts with hedges creates a kind of gap in the text, which means it creates a gap in the context for any discussion, explanation, or story that follows as well. If this occurs often enough in a single piece of writing, the net result might very well seem to American readers to be a "stepping stone" style of rhetoric through which the reader must hop to extract the complete meaning. It is likely to be negatively evaluated by American readers as a pattern that is too reader-responsible.

According to Keita's discussion, Japanese readers would evaluate this same pattern quite positively, however. In fact, as he explains, part of his intention in using hedges in English is to create a change in the general drift of the meaning or the perspective from which the author is writing. In this way, hedges are used as cues meant to indicate segmentation in the development of intricacy. Following is an excerpt from the dialogue in which Keita explains the duality of his purpose in using hedges. "I:" indicates the voice of the interviewer; "K:," that of Keita.

I:

I noticed that sometimes in your writing, when a connecting word is [needed], like but, however, and, or in addition, instead of a connector that shows how the two parts are related, I would see a word like perhaps or it seems.

K:

Yes.

I:

There's a word there--like perhaps or it seems, but it doesn't have the meaning, it doesn't show the meaning.

K:

Yes, yes, yes you might say that.

I:
I'm wondering if it's because there are two ways to use this pattern.

K:
Implication. Implication doesn't require however; change is implied. So we Japanese tend to use perhaps, therefore, therefore, maybe, seems Implicate, implicate, implicate, implicate. We believe, even [if] we use these words reader must, must, must understand.

I:
The contrast is implied?

K:
Yes.

I:
Because there is a word like perhaps there?

K:
Yes, perhaps is enough. I told you WE understand the REAL meaning in the sentence.

QUESTIONS

In the results section of this report, the use of questions, like the use of hedges, was referred to as a regular stylistic feature of Keita's writing. Fifteen of the twenty-one papers Keita submitted contain at least one question. This represents an average of eight questions per one hundred T-units, or 8%. How this compares to the use of questions by native speakers of English is an inquiry left to future researchers, but how Keita uses questions in his writing is the topic of discussion here.

In several papers, questions are used to focus the reader on the thesis and are placed among the first few sentences. One paper begins, "Do you know Pionir squer? If you go there, you can see curious contrast between poor and rich." These two sentences constitute the entire introduction to a short composition. The question serves to establish the

general topic, while the second sentence indicates what aspect of that topic will be addressed. Similarly, another paper begins, "I think the movie has deep imprication about futur education method. Which way is better? New method or traditional method. I think most new method or ways are not apt to acceptable." This example, punctuated as four sentences but actually composed of three T-units, follows basically the same sequence, only in this case, the first two T-units (ending with "method") establish the general topic. The third indicates the direction the writer will take within that general framework.

Considering that Keita expressed in his interview a strong reluctance to begin a paper with a direct thesis statement, and that most of his questions occurred in introductory contexts like those above, it is possible that the use of a question to introduce the topic may serve him as a kind of compromise between directness and indirectness. In both the examples cited here, the thesis could be stated more concisely without the use of a question. In the first case, the grammar of the alternative thesis would be comparable to that Keita used: "If you go to Pioneer Square, you can see a curious contrast between the poor and the rich." In the case of the second example, however, the alternative thesis would require more complex grammar: "I think the movie has deep implications about whether it will be better to use new or traditional methods of education in the future." It is not clear how much of Keita's use of questions is in essence an avoidance pattern and how much may be due to a level of mastery insufficient for exploiting the language fully. In either event, the reliance on questions may indicate an unreadiness to explore potentially more acceptable alternatives.

In addition to focusing the reader on the thesis early in a paper, Keita's questions sometimes are used to change the focus at a point later in a paper. It is the second question (emphasis added) in the following example from Keita's text that illustrates this type of use.

My American friend asked me "What age is considered a girl of marriageable age in Japan?" at last meeting, so I replied "Probably, from 22 to 25, I think. But it depends on a parson." By the way, do you know, a girl of marriageable age is usually compare to Christmas cake in Japan? As you know, Christmas day is accompanied with Christmas cake and also Japanese celebrate the day with Christmas cake.

The remainder of the body of this paper is devoted to an explanation of the sale of Christmas cakes. The conclusion, however, returns to the discussion of what is considered a marriageable age for Japanese women. Clearly, here, the purpose of the question is to turn the reader's attention away from the friend's inquiry to a story used as an illustration of the main idea. In this paper, the diversion would probably be evaluated by American readers as relevant to the topic; however, the way the diversion is introduced would probably seem too abrupt and lead to an evaluation of the writing as less than coherent and lacking adequate transitions. The second question in this excerpt can definitely be classed as a rhetorical device, but its success in the eyes of an American reader would be viewed as limited at best.

In general, it seems plausible that Keita's inclusion of hedges and questions in much of his writing may be due as much to the influence of the Japanese values of indirectness and intricacy as to any lack of control of the English language. Particularly in his use of hedges, neither syntax nor semantics appears to play any part. This does not explain, however, why Naomi's writing differs so greatly and does not

include either hedges or questions, when the two writers come from the same culture, and thus hold the same cultural values. Whether degree of cultural adjustment has any bearing on these writing features remains to be discovered.

CONJUNCTS

So far in this chapter the results of analyses of clauses, hedges, and questions have been discussed. In the preceeding chapter, the results of analysis of one other writing feature operating at the sentential and intersentential level were reported as well: those regarding clausal conjuncts. Clausal conjuncts have long been treated by educators as integral to the creation of cohesion within a text, and sometimes even of coherence. One of the questions asked at the beginning of this study was how conjuncts contribute to cohesion and coherence. Their role begins to come clear when they are carefully defined.

In the language of prescriptive grammarians, clausal conjuncts include coordinating conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions and conjunctive adverbs or transitions. They join parts of a text that are placed next to each other physically, but all conjuncts are not equal, either in meaning or in their conjoining power. This fact led the researcher to add an additional criterion to be used in the identification of clausal conjuncts for the purpose of this study. To be included as a conjunct, the word or phrase had to be linking clauses or units larger than clauses, and had to be used as a signal between these elements for the purpose of interpreting one or both of them. The first part of this requirement indicates their syntactic role; the second, their semantic

role.

In their writing submitted for this study, the two Japanese writers used clausal conjuncts with almost exactly the same frequency (.43 and .36 conjuncts per T-unit for Keita and Naomi, respectively). However, out of a total of thirty-eight conjuncts used, only eleven were used by both subjects and these accounted for a total of 68% of the combined total conjunct use. This suggests that despite a wide range of choices, a relatively small number are favored. It is probably not surprising that but, and, and because were the most popular, contributing 42% to the total.

A comparison of number of clauses per T-unit and number of conjuncts per T-unit seems like it would reflect the percentage of subordination achieved with the aid of a conjunct, but it does not. Instead, it was found that most conjuncts were placed either at the beginning or end of a sentence and operated intersententially. Most subordination was achieved through other means, for example using that, which, or a prepositional phrase. In Keita's writing, an average of 40% of T-units contained a second clause, and 43% contained a conjunct. In Naomi's writing, an average of 27% of T-units contained a second clause, while 36% contained a conjunct. What this means is that the two techniques, using a clausal conjunct between T-units, and subordinating one clause to another, are not necessarily coincidental. Rather, they are alternative means of creating cohesion. This supports the ideas of previous researchers struggling largely to distinguish cohesion from coherence and to delineate the role cohesion plays in coherence.

Previous research indicates that clausal conjuncts do not directly

contribute to coherence because they do not create bonds within single messages. Instead, they link WHOLE MESSAGES; and are therefore COHESIVE devices. They are a kind of glue, one of the resources of English used to create cohesion. And, although cohesion is a major contributor to coherence, it is not the only one. Furthermore, conjunction is only one of several cohesive ties available in English. (Others include reference, substitution and ellipsis, and lexical cohesion). This means that a text can be incoherent even if it contains a great number of conjuncts; and, conversely, despite an absence of conjuncts, a text can be coherent.

It appears that the most significant determinant of the sound, or texture, of a piece of writing (i.e., whether it seems American, Japanese, Arab, etc.) may be coherence, a rhetorical feature that is culturally defined. According to Halliday and Hasan (1985):

A text is characterized by coherence; it hangs together. At any point after the beginning, what has gone before provides the environment for what is coming next. This sets up internal expectations; and these are matched up with the expectations . . . that the listener brings from the external sources, from the context of situation and of culture. (p. 48)

For readers of English, the primary expectation derived from American culture is probably explicitness, because the relationship between text and context is dialectical and the cultural value of linguistic directness is so high. Explicitness, in turn, probably defines the American notion of coherence. The degree and types of clausal subordination and embedding, along with other intrasentential features, probably contribute greatly to the presence or lack of explicitness in English writing, and thus to the amount of coherence.

The data gathered in this study provide some evidence that clausal

conjunction is only marginally connected to subordination. Of the total 221 incidents of conjunct use in the texts collected for this study, only 28 involved subordination, just under 13%. Of these 28 incidents of subordination involving conjuncts, 24 were accomplished using because; 3 with although; and 1 with despite. Most conjunct usage in the papers submitted for this study conjoined without subordinating.

Looking at the relationship between subordination and conjunct usage from another angle unearths similar findings. Of Keita's 153 incidents of subordination (exclusive of sentential hedges, which would account for 50 more), only 19 involve conjuncts, approximately 12%. For Naomi's writing, the figures are slightly higher. In a total of 48 incidents of subordination (52 including sentential hedges), 9 involve conjuncts, roughly 19%. These figures indicate that most subordination does not involve conjuncts, but depends solely on syntactic strategies.

In the course of the analysis of texts for this study, it was noted that certain structural devices, not usually classed as conjuncts, appear to play the same role as conjuncts. Prepositional phrases, in particular, seem to operate this way. For example, the phrase, for all of these reasons was often used by Naomi to introduce a conclusion. What is different about such a phrase, however, is that the pieces it conjoins and semantically interrelates are not physically juxtaposed one against another as they are in the case of clausal conjuncts. Thus, it might be said that these phrases are cohesive devices very similar to clausal conjuncts in role, but different in relative strength of their conjoining power.

All of this information regarding connecting devices of English

supports the notion that there are many means of creating cohesion in the language. This implies that teaching ESL students the meanings of and appropriate structural contexts for clausal conjuncts is only a small part of the task of teaching cohesion. Students need to know that conjunction is only one of the tools available to them for creating cohesion, and that cohesion cannot engender coherence if the rhetoric does not meet the expectations of explicitness American culture defines. Subordination, anaphora, and other cohesive devices can be used to create cohesion as well. At the same time, a text in which the parts stick together well can still seem incoherent to an American audience if the parts fitted next to one another are not interpreted as being explicitly and directly related. Teachers need to make the cultural expectations of American readers clear to students in order for students to learn to identify (or "hear") what sounds native. As with so many things in language teaching, there is a duality involved in teaching coherence: the roles of both writer and reader must be addressed; and the expectations and responsibilities of both, identified and defined.

Few errors in the use of clausal conjuncts were found in either student's writing. Those that were found are reported and discussed in chapter four. There is little more to be said about them here. Apparently, however, one of the challenges facing ESL students in the use of clausal conjuncts is determining the cohesive strength of a conjunct in order to know where to use it. Teachers must keep in mind that mastery of the conventions of English writing is not the same as mastery of the semantic and syntactic components of language and that the use of these conventions is heavily constrained by context. Thus, in teaching

conjuncts, ESL instructors need to address intercultural as well as interlingual concerns. In addition, they would do well to remember that whether or not many transition words, or conjuncts of any kind, are used, may not necessarily affect how "American" the essay sounds.

RHETORICAL PATTERNS

The brief length of Naomi's papers did not permit the same kind of rhetorical analysis performed on Keita's writing. Predominantly because of a difference in the assignments the two students were given, her writing samples rarely extended beyond one paragraph. As a result, little can be said about the rhetorical patterns she uses beyond the paragraph level. Naomi's writing used patterns of organization that were direct and linear. Her work may have a fairly native sound due to the explicitness of the language.

The rhetorical pattern dominant in Keita's writing is most remarkable because of its similarity to the last two sections of the traditional Japanese rhetorical form, *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*. The pattern of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* is characterized by an beginning intended to grab the reader's attention by making him/her curious, possibly through the use of a question or by posing a dilemma. The beginning is usually calm and gradual. The second section generally develops the idea put forward in the first section without actually providing a new or different point of focus. The third section is intended to draw the reader further into the subject and requires a change of some kind. The change may be viewed as a change in perspective, but perhaps it would be more accurately described as a change in the delineation of what is to be the context of the subject

discussed. In other words, the idea put forward in the first section is no longer isolated, but is shown in relation to ideas that might be considered its surroundings. The exact nature of the relationship between the ideas is generally not defined. Instead, the two are juxtaposed. One measure of the quality of this style of writing is the degree of intricacy the writer is able to create in this juxtaposition. The final section is expected to shift once more, sometimes suggesting by example or implication some resolution of the problem or dilemma posed, other times toward a new and more poignant juxtaposition. The direction of the shift may be back towards the starting point of the writing or may spin further off from it. Either way, the weighing of ideas proposed, and the subsequent evaluation of them is generally left to the reader. The intent is to send the reader back to the beginning if s/he is interested in pursuing the matter further.

In this style of writing, changes in the ten section are perceived by Japanese readers as adding variety, interest and depth, making the writing more intricate and complex, and thus, more highly valued (Kitano, 1990, pp.28-29). The reference to and discussion of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* here is not meant to suggest that the traditional form influences composition writing today; rather to point out the possibility that the stylistic features valued in the past by Japanese culture may still be valued by that culture today. Hinds (1983, p. 184) notes that in contemporary Japanese composition, a shift to a subtheme typically bears only minimal syntactic marking to cue the reader that a shift is taking place. Because of the lack of syntactic marking and the distance of relationship between the ideas expressed, the new information can easily be interpreted as a

digression by American readers, as is illustrated in the essay printed on page 45.

In addition to the shift in focus, the abrupt ending, which tends to cast doubt or pose a dilemma rather than resolve one, can have the effect of making the essay seem incomplete to an American reader.

This student commented he didn't understand why, in American English writing, the conclusion reiterates what is said in the introduction. In light of this fact, it is not surprising that the lack of paragraphing and the most marked divergence from American style would occur predominantly at the ends of essays and not elsewhere.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

THESIS STATEMENT AND COHERENCE / A DEVELOPMENTAL CONTINUUM

Based on the results of this study, an hypothesis of a language-learning continuum, in which second language skill and knowledge is added on to that of the mother tongue, might be postulated to describe the development of Japanese students' use of English rhetorical patterns. Though no conclusions about the idea can be drawn from this study, further testing with a larger sample and more exhaustive study might prove useful.

The two structural features of essays written by Japanese students that usually cause the most discomfort to American readers involve coherence and the placement of the thesis statement. These features are related. In order to discuss this relationship in any detail, however, exactly what is meant by coherence needs to be made clearer. An analogy may help to illustrate what is meant by coherence and to distinguish it from cohesion.

If one is trying to piece together a broken cup, the right fragments must be placed next to each other and lined up in a certain way. This might be called coherence. In order to make the cup whole, however, the pieces must be held in place with an adhesive. In writing, this "holding together" is called cohesion. As anyone who has attempted to fix things at home knows, choosing an appropriate adhesive is essential to the

successful completion of the project.

In writing, each step, or part, of the building process is culture-bound. Which pieces can be placed next to which others, and precisely how they may be lined up depends on which "types of logical sequencing . . . are recognized as valid" (Halliday & Hasan, 1985, p. 47) in that cultural context. In order to choose an appropriate adhesive, the writer selects from among "the set of linguistic resources that every language has . . . for linking one part of a text to another" (Halliday & Hasan, 1985, p. 48). Of course, that set, and the usage rules governing its components, varies with the language.

When an ESL student has mended a cup according to contextual guidelines of another culture, the product of his/her handiwork not only may not be recognizable as a cup, but it also may function differently, e.g., it may not even hold water. In communication terms, not only the message, but also the purpose of the message may be lost on the reader.

Coherence, the way the pieces are lined up, enables the adhesive to give form to the relationships between messages and their intended purposes within a text. It allows the mended cup to function as a unit. In linguistic terms, coherence within a text includes "the linguistic cohesion that embodies the internal semantic relationships" (Halliday & Hasan, 1985, p. 49), and perhaps the pragmatic relationships as well.

In teaching rhetoric, ESL instructors must be able to recognize the fragments as distinct from the adhesive in any student's building project. They must be able to distinguish coherence from cohesion. In order to do so, teachers need to attend to the context of an individual piece of writing as a whole, as well as to the context within the piece. As Hasan

indicates, a comment on a student paper like, "this doesn't hang together," is not useful. The student needs to know why. To be helpful, a teacher needs to explain which ideas can be connected to which and what linguistic resources are appropriate for holding them together in the specific space they occupy. Both the reason and the method for the changes must be made explicit.

The culturally appropriate placement and form of the thesis statement are critical to the success of any student's building project when writing in English. Halliday and Hasan (1985) explain that:

Every part of a text . . . is at once both text and context. In focusing attention on the language with which people learn, we should be aware of both these functions. Each element in the discourse, whether just one phrase or an entire chapter or a book, has a value (1) as text, in itself, and (2) as context, to other text that is to come. (p. 48)

In English, the thesis statement sets up the context for the entire rest of the text. If the thesis statement does not come at the beginning, and is not stated directly, the text may not hold together. For Japanese students learning English, many problems with coherence may be traceable to their handling of the thesis statement. As they learn what cultural and linguistic options are not only available, but also considered valid, and begin to employ these in their writing, their "cup" and its purpose become more recognizable to American readers.

What appears to have happened to Keita and Naomi is that they progressed through what may be a roughly predictable sequence of rhetorical changes along a language-learning continuum. According to their discussions of their experiences in learning English, both students first approximated the English style relying heavily upon familiar,

Japanese rhetorical forms, or at least on certain stylistic features found in these forms.

Two of the oldest Japanese patterns are jo-ha-dyu, which matches English rhetorical form in number of parts, and ki-sho-ten-ketsu, a four part form taught in Japanese writing classes in some schools. Both students referred to the latter at some point in the interviews. Although these are not the only organizational patterns acceptable to Japanese readers, they incorporate the stylistic features most highly prized by them: intricacy and indirectness. Mentioning these two forms is not to suggest that students in Japan are instructed to write English in this way; rather that they may be likely to display a natural tendency to follow familiar patterns, even in an unfamiliar language. In fact, today, in some, possibly many, English classes in Japan, the English pattern of introduction, body, and conclusion is presented and practiced; however, students may not necessarily succeed in using this pattern initially.

According to Keita, as the American form was mastered and added to the knowledge of the Japanese forms, he was still reluctant to let go of familiar Japanese-style introductions. He maintained an indirect opening, posed a question, or otherwise used some intricacy to capture the reader's attention. In part because traditional Japanese styles begin with indirectness, and in part because Japanese writing, and the culture in general, dictates that the main idea should always come last, other students, like Keita, may be reluctant to switch to what is basically the opposite type of beginning in English, i.e., to state the thesis first. They may also lean toward retaining a rapid and brief ending for the same reason. Naomi explained her reasoning about conclusions, and the

temptation to put the thesis statement in the conclusion, in her interview. A longer excerpt may be found in Appendix F; a small portion has been reprinted here:

I sometimes . . . it, it's stupid to repeat the whole story in conclusion, because I already wrote about the story. I have to repeat the same story in conclusion. Why do I have to repeat it? I sometimes think about that, so I sometimes think I should use thesis statement in conclusion. . . . I can't think of any other idea. . . because what do I say? I already said everything.

Inclusion of a moderately direct but still intricate opening, thorough development and support, a change of perspective, and a conclusion which restates comments from the introduction, and adds a thesis statement, seems to have marked the next stage of development. This matches the description of Japanese student writing described by Tokoro (1986 in Kitano, p. 30). It appears that as the student adapted, the introduction became more direct, but still less specific, or focused, than the conclusion. The body of the essay became more explicit, thus appearing more tightly knit, and to the native English speaker, more focused. The ending remained relatively direct and very short for some time. Unfortunately, this data could not be verified with dates of the writing of particular texts since the order in which texts were composed was not clear in the memory of either subject. Most of this idea develops out of the interviews.

The problem for Keita and Naomi was that as they get the idea that the introduction parallels the conclusion and the body expands on the introduction, they were at a loss for what to say at the end if they move the thesis statement to the beginning. Not only Naomi, but also Keita commented on this, expressing frustration.

The problem of feeling there is nothing left to say in the conclusion seems to perpetuate the use of brief endings and may tempt some Japanese students back toward a stronger shift, or twist, in perspective in the second to last paragraph, as seems to have happened often to Keita. One key to making the writing sound more American is to get Japanese students to move the thesis statement from the conclusion to the introduction. Removing the thesis from the conclusion seems to debilitate the use of a "ten" type of transition in most cases, because there is no longer an ending to link to the former section. As a result, the student abandons the "ten" and the essay begins to sound more "American." It is direct, linear, and begins with the thesis. According to Keita's explanation, this is equivalent to the sales approach in which the salesperson offers the customer the best product first. His argument is, who is ever satisfied with buying the first thing the salesperson shows? In his mind, this is a very poor sales approach, and by analogy, a poorly-valued writing style.

Keita exclaimed clearly that at this point, he felt his writing was boring, partly because the conclusion seemed empty. It said nothing new, and was culturally void of identity as well. The body simply gave more details of what the introduction already said. To the Japanese writer, accustomed to expressing and understanding most meaning through implication, the writing at this stage seems dead, void of content, intrigue and refinement. It is similar in style to a Japanese child's writing; thus, the American style of writing enhances the Japanese writer's feeling of being reduced to a child when operating in the second language. The student response may be something like: "Why not write the

introduction and stop there? The reader already knows what I'm going to say from the introduction." Indeed, one of the marks of a "good" introduction in English is that the reader is able to predict what the essay will say based on the introduction.

The hallmark of later stages along the interlanguage continuum is an essay composed of a direct introduction containing the thesis statement and mentioning all of the main points of the essay; a body which explains as well as gives examples and details of each of these main points, respectively; and an ending that is focused, short and plain. The three segments of the essay are parallel and nearly repetitious. No new information is introduced in the conclusion. Generally, at this point, the writing "sounds" native. Exactly why it sounds native, however, may be as much cultural as lingual. The students in this study differed in their evaluations of their writing when they neared this stage. Naomi was indifferent; Keita thought it was boring and childish. Both explained that if it got them a good grade, that was basically all they cared about.

CULTURE AND RHETORIC / VALUES AND STYLE

Hinds (1983) describes English as a writer-responsible language. In a writer-responsible language, most of the responsibility for communicating meaning in a piece of writing belongs to the writer; thus, the writer is expected to leave no room for guessing. This is in contrast to a reader-responsible language, in which most of the responsibility for communicating meaning is left to the reader, and in which it is the reader's job to eliminate questions of interpretation. Hinds' idea seems to be supported by the English community since it has yet to receive

criticism. Little has been written linking American culture to this feature of English, however.

That individualism is among the highest values of Americans is currently widely accepted. What that individualism implies about the cultural schema with which Americans are socialized may explain why English in general, and American English in particular, is so extremely writer-responsible. The commonality of background knowledge in the American cultural schema may be relatively small compared to that of most cultures, based as it is on the idea that each member of society is unique, with unique thoughts and feelings. This is evident in the frequency with which Americans inquire about the thoughts and feelings of others as well as showing dissent concerning the same. As one Swiss ESL student put it, "I have never been asked so many times and by so many people, 'What do you think? How do you feel about this?' as I have since I came to the U.S." The same student also expressed frustration over how Americans respond to her answers. She complained, exasperated, "I feel like they ask me just to disagree with me." The American cultural schema may include an expectation that personal ideas will be questioned and interpreted variously, and thus need to be expressed as explicitly as possible. Because the society is relatively heterogeneous, the writer must be responsible. The reading community is not homogeneous enough to achieve consent on the meaning, perhaps even to access the meaning at all, if the writer does not supply readers with the explicit connections between ideas which s/he intends. It may be that there is too small a commonality of background knowledge among English readers from which readers can draw to interpret meaning accurately. The further English

spreads to various cultures, the more likely this is to be so.

If this hypothesis is accurate, the Japanese writer of English is at a distinct disadvantage since his cultural schema derives from a society predominantly consenting. The cultural schema shared in a homogeneous society makes explicitness redundant. Only what is new and different need be mentioned since shared background knowledge is so broad "everybody knows what that means!" Given the nature of Japanese society and the cultural values of consenting and of prioritizing the group above the individual, it is not surprising that Japanese is described as a reader-reponsible language (Hinds, 1983). The use of a "stepping stone" type rhetorical pattern allows Japanese writers to present only that information which is new, or to present familiar information in a new light, and to focus on the relationship between individuals rather than between ideas (Kitano, 1990, p. 34).

Where an American writer is used to not knowing what the reader knows (due to heterogeneity and privacy values in American culture), and expects to require or provide specifics, Japanese writers must adjust to a much more acute isolation of personal ideas and knowledge than what they are used to before they can understand and believe the need to be specific. It is often a big surprise to Japanese students how many ways a piece of their English writing can be interpreted, outside of what they consider the "normal and interesting" range. Japanese students must give up their assumptions that others know what they mean (i.e., share their background knowledge) to write like a native English speaker. It is as if they have a choice. They can perceive their knowledge as shared, and themselves secure within a community of shared knowledge, and see English

explicitness as stupid, insulting and childish. Or, they can allow themselves to experience a serious cultural loss in perceiving their knowledge as private and unique, and come to understand how the direct style can seem adult. To choose the latter, the writer must accept a certain amount of isolation from the community. For a Japanese person this may well create feelings of insecurity because of the loss of identification with or through the group. The perception of the writer's knowledge as private is necessary, however, for the writer to make sense of the demand that in English the writer must be explicit. Holloway, in 1981 pointed out that "teachers must help these students understand that not everyone shares the same 'semantic field' or context" (abstract).

CULTURE LEARNING IN THE WRITING CLASS

From the onset of the study, I expected to find differences between the students' interpretations and evaluations of English writing structure and those commonly held and espoused by the ESL teaching community. Among the common complaints in this rhetorical community are the claims that the writing of Japanese students is often "incoherent," "lacking in unity," or "inadequately organized," all of which tend to render the writing substandard in the eyes of the evaluators. My personal experience suggested to me that there do exist certain structural patterns which are common in Japanese students' writing, but that these patterns and their use are not entirely predictable. Among the Japanese writers I have taught, it has seemed that some use these patterns all the time; others, sometimes; and still others, never. Furthermore, in conferencing with students about their writing, I noticed that some bring to their writing

process an awareness of structure, of more than one possible logical organization, and of more than one possible interpretation of the meaning a given structure imposes or implies. I began to wonder if those who were the most aware and the most flexible in their writing were also those most culturally sensitive and adaptable; at a glance, this seemed to be true. I wondered if my writers and I were struggling more with culture learning than with language learning; for, were that the case, then my method of instruction should contain the cultural information needed for students to see how to adjust style as well as language.

What this means for English teachers is that they may have more success in their writing classes if they take the time and employ their cultural sensitivity to address students' feelings in the writing classroom. Simply telling students they are to talk about feelings in their journals (of course private and individual) and/or that they are free to discuss their feelings with their teacher (a person they perceive as an authority figure) may not fulfill this purpose.

Following are some examples of ideas that may be more effective. At least once a week, and especially when beginning any major writing assignment, the teacher can talk about writing fears and discomforts, opening either small group or whole class discussions with an anecdote, joke or personal story (thus being the first to risk disclosure). Even a relatively brief comment can help, especially if it is directed at a particular problem the teacher knows students are having. For example, before an in-class writing time, and after brainstorming and outlining a comparison, a teacher might comment, "I find the hardest thing about writing a comparison is the introduction. I'm afraid of introductions;

they have to be so clear. Usually what I do to get going is to write anything that comes to mind. Then, after I feel comfortable, I go back and see where I started. I check my organization and write a rough beginning. Sometimes I have to move things around. Often, only after I've finished the whole thing do I really feel confident enough to try to make the introduction exact. Does anyone else have this problem? (Wait for response.) Maybe somebody here handles it differently. Let's make a list of some different ways to begin."

The students or teacher can write the ideas on the board and leave them there for an encouraging reminder when the students actually begin writing. If students do not volunteer at first, the teacher can carefully go around the group coaxing, "What do you do, Megumi? How do you begin?" Mentioning things like, "I have to have a cup of coffee beside me or I can't think." or passing a pack of gum around the classroom can help as well. They carry the message that we all need certain security devices and that it's "okay" to need and use these tools.

Activities like the above actually serve two purposes. They focus students on their personal writing processes, enabling them to build an awareness and understanding of what works best for them, while assuring them that all writers experience fears and discomfort. They also provide students with "strokes" not only from their teacher, but from their writing peers as well. As the community enters the writing process, it becomes more cohesive and less threatening. At the same time, students have a safe place to discover and explore options in the writing process they might not have thought of on their own.

Another idea, and a kind of corollary to the first, is to hold

similar discussions when collecting papers, before reading them. For example, as students are turning in their papers, the teacher can ask them how they feel about what they have written. S/he can also help the students gain a feeling of accomplishment by addressing smaller successes, either within the writing process, or part of the product. Questions such as "Who wrote a title that s/he really liked? Who wrote something funny? Did this piece take more or less time than the last one? Now that you're finished with the rough draft, what do you think of your topic? Who learned how to spell a new word? Who remembered to check verb endings?"

Talk which grants writers authority is a part of dealing with feelings about the writing process. Even when writers do not feel they have complete authority over the language, they can feel they have authority over the subject, their own process, and some aspects of the language. This helps to give them the courage to take the next step. When students truly feel that they are not the only ones who experience discomforts in writing, then the classroom can become a safe place to uncover their insecurities and a resource for gaining confidence. For Japanese students, and any students concerned with conformity, convincing them that their feelings are the norm probably requires group consensus. A teacher cannot provide this; only writing peers can. But a teacher can lead a group as a whole to this discovery.

LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, the findings of this study support the notion that learning to write in a second language involves more than a mastery of grammar, lexicon, and structural devices. Learning to write involves to

some extent the learning of culture, and in this way it is a training in perception. Learning to perceive differently is a difficult but not impossible feat; however, it requires courage and sensitivity. For success in the ESL writing classroom, both teachers and students must develop these characteristics and learn to apply them readily. Without these tools, both the writing and the experiences of those involved will be little more than translations of a single reality into different words.

The methods of analysis developed in this study, though limited in scope, were successful in indicating the presence of patterns of organization within the student texts. In particular, they were useful in characterizing development in the handling of clauses, clarifying the role conjuncts play in creating cohesion and coherence, in diagnosing problems created by the interference of hedges with the use of conjuncts, and in identifying parallel relationships among the structures of sentences, paragraphs and larger units of discourse. It is likely that these methods could be refined and applied to larger studies with fruitful results.

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APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT--ENGLISH

INFORMED CONSENT

I, _____, have been asked and have agreed to be a subject in the research project called "Patterns of Rhetoric/Patterns of Culture: a Look at the English Writing of Japanese Students." This study will be done by Suzanne Raschke, a graduate student in the Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages program in the Applied Linguistics Department at Portland State University.

I understand that, as a subject of the study, I will give Ms. Raschke copies of writing I have completed for past English classes and that I will be recorded on audio tape in an informal interview outside of class.

I personally may not benefit from this study, but by agreeing to be a subject in the study, the information learned may help others in the future.

Ms. Raschke will answer any questions I have about the study. I understand that my name will not be used in connection with the information gathered in this study.

I understand that I do not have to take part in this study. If I do take part in this study, I may quit the study at any time and this will have no effect on my grade or my standing with my school.

I have read and understand the information above, and I agree to take part in this study.

Date _____ Signature _____

If you have problems with this study, please contact the Chair of the Human Subject Research Review Committee, Office of Grants and Contracts, 303 Cramer Hall, Portland State University, 725-3417.

APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT--JAPANESE

同 意 書

私 _____ (以下当対象者) は研究

“日本人学生の英作文から判断する修辞様式、ならび文化様式”
(以下当研究) に研究対象者として 参加すること、また当研究が
非英語圏 学生への英語教育課程を学ぶ PSU 応用言語学部、
大学院生スガヌランキーによって行われること、

当研究対象として ランキーに 私が過去の英語の授業のなかで
作成した文書を譲渡すること、及びクラス外でのインタビューに
おいて録音の対象となること、

当研究に参加することにより、当対象者は、何ら利益を受け
ないが、当対象者の参加により得られた資料もしくは情報が
将来一般の利益になること、

当研究に関するいかなる疑問、もしくは質問にはランキー
が答えること、並びに、当対象者の氏名は 当研究との関連
において一際公表されないこと、

当研究への参加義務はないこと、また参加同意後においても
辞退できること、かつそれによって PSU における成績あるいは
資格に何ら影響を及ぼさないこと

以上の研究参加事項を読み理解した上で、当研究に参
加することに同意する。

年月日: _____ 年 月 日 氏名: _____

尚、万一この研究参加によって何らかの損害を受けた場合は、
以下へ御連絡下さい。

the chair of the Human Subject Research Review Committee,
Office of Grants and Contracts,
303 Cramer Hall, Portland State University, 725-3417

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE STUDENT PROFILE FORM

STUDENT PROFILE

Name _____ Age _____ M/F

Time in U.S. _____ Native Country _____

Native Language _____

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE WRITING--NAOMI

Result of

Result of Overpop

B-

One result of overpopulation is such social problems as discrimination, family violence and crime. Discrimination produces problems of crime and family violence.

Overpopulation will produce a different ~~of a class~~ create discrimination. High class people look down on the lower class people. They live in different places and in different ways. Lower people are poor and this produces crime and family violence. ~~Only low class people~~ ^{produce family violence?}

Low class people can't live in certain places and often must live in slums. In a slum, the buildings are ruined and the poor people live in very dirty.

Because security systems are not adequate - ~~this~~ ^{the} ~~rate~~ ^{rate} is very high.

Because of overpopulation, it's hard to have one's own house or to get a good job. Because people are poor there will often be family violence. It is not good for people to live in bad environments. They also are a bad influence on children.

The results of overpopulation are discrimination, crime and family violence. We can't seem to be able to stop the increasing population.

And the crime rate has been going up. We have to consider the consequences of overpopulation before it is too late.

Welcome Home, Vingo

In early spring, three boys and three girls were going to Fort Lauderdale, Florida. They were dreaming of golden beaches. ~~After~~ the bus passed through New Jersey, they began to notice Vingo. They tried to imagine his life. One of the girls sat beside him and introduced herself. According to his story, he had been in jail in New York for the last four years. He is married. ~~but~~ his wife didn't write him for three-and-a-half years. He wrote her ~~that if~~ she would take him back, put a yellow handkerchief on a great big oak tree, ~~and if~~ she didn't want him, no handkerchief. The bus was approaching to Brunswick ~~and then~~ suddenly, all of the young people jumped up out of their seats, screaming and shouting, and crying. The tree was covered with nearly hundreds of yellow handkerchiefs. Vingo got off the bus and went home.

Why do you want
to learn English
yourself? I'd
like some specific
details in the 2nd
draft.

B -

Reason why we learn a language

To learn a language is very im-
portant. ~~When~~ we don't know any
language, there may be many problems
between people. There are two
reasons ~~why~~ we learn a language.

← One reason is to communicate
with each other. We can't live
alone and we need somebody, so
we need to know each other.

The other reason is to learn a
lot of things. ~~When~~ we work, or study in
foreign countries, first, we have to
know foreign language. It is an
essential thing. ~~When~~ we don't know
any language, we can't do anything,
and we can't develop.

~~For these reasons~~, it is very
necessary to learn a language.

APPENDIX E

SAMPLE WRITING--KEITA

V.2

(25)

His name is Sail.

(He wants to be a rich man)

(so) he is studying hard.

He plans to get (use the form we are practicing)
According to his plan, he will get Master

degree. Now, he ^{doesn't} ~~don't~~ have some troubles.

and he likes to enjoy university life.

(Before) he came to the States,

his parents advised him not to make ^{low}

girl-friend. (And) he is student now (so)

his family ~~to~~ help him about anything.

He doesn't plan to have a family,

(because) he thinks to study English or
other subject is important.

(His teachers don't encourage him to do. [?]
to do what?
words 90

need
graphs.
to a
focus.

(17)

10.3

ABOUT FAIRY TALE

Draft - 1

Most of people must have heard several fairy tales
at their childhood^①, And also they might have been talking ^②
 such stories for their children. ~~Dislike~~ modern technology ^③
has been effecting to life of people, fairy tales have
 never been forget still ~~now~~^④. What is their big attraction?^⑤

I think ① fairy tales ^{provide} ~~are~~ one of social standards, which
 teach children to distinguish good and evil.^⑥ ~~There are~~
~~many fairy tales in Japan, then~~ ^⑦ I introduce One of the
 most common ^{Japanese} fairy tales ^{he used as} as ^⑧ an example. The title is
 "A sparrow that ^⑨ lost his tongue."

Once upon a time, there were an old man and an old
 woman ^⑩. The old man was very gentle, ~~and~~ ^⑪ he kept a sparrow. ^⑫
 The old man loved the sparrow very well, ~~but~~ ^⑬ the old woman
 disliked the sparrow. ~~she~~ ^⑭ she was very stingy, she
 didn't want even to feed for the sparrow.^⑮

~~But~~ one day, the sparrow ate her starch. ⁽⁵⁾ When she
 found out that she was very angry ⁽⁶⁾ ~~she~~ she cut the
 sparrow's tongue. ⁽⁷⁾ ~~After that~~ the sparrow returned ⁽⁸⁾ his
 country. ⁽⁹⁾ The old man was sad, ⁽¹⁰⁾ and one day he went to
 the country to apologize ⁽¹¹⁾ for the sparrow. ⁽¹²⁾ The sparrow
 was very glad, and ⁽¹³⁾ landed in a small bamboo trunk and
 a big one. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Then ⁽¹⁵⁾ said "Please choose a ⁽¹⁶⁾ souvenir
which do you prefer to." He replied "Small one is
 enough for me." ⁽¹⁷⁾ He returned home, and opened the trunk. ⁽¹⁸⁾
 There were much gold in the trunk. ⁽¹⁹⁾ The old woman envied
 him. ⁽²⁰⁾ ~~And~~ she also went ⁽²¹⁾ to the country to apologize ⁽²²⁾ for the sparrow. ⁽²³⁾
 The sparrow was glad again, and said ⁽²⁴⁾ some words. ⁽²⁵⁾
~~But~~ she replied "I want a big trunk." ⁽²⁶⁾ She returned
 home quickly ⁽²⁷⁾ and opened the trunk. ⁽²⁸⁾ What was ⁽²⁹⁾ content
 in the trunk. ⁽³⁰⁾ These were lost and garbage. ⁽³¹⁾ 94

I think ³⁰⁰ we can find out three characters ^{what do you mean?}

from each of the roles. ³¹ ~~First~~ ³³ is the old man. His character is ^{described in} modified several sentences ~~the~~ ("He is gentle") ("He loved

a sparrow). ^{Small one is enough for me.} ^{So} we can say ^{sum up} ^{describes} his ^{the} character in other words "gentleness". ³⁹ ~~The~~ ^{Second} is the

old woman. Her character ³⁵ — symbolized with these words "stingy" "envy" "greedy" "cruelty" ³⁹ ~~and~~ "evil". ~~The~~ ³⁹ is the

sparrow. ⁴⁰ I think ⁴¹ the character of sparrow make us remin a word "God". ⁴¹

Most of fairy tales are including ^{similar(?)} these characters which ⁴² are modified with ^{such} several ^{words} adjectives or sentences ⁴²

People are taught to distinguish of good and evil throughout education, religion, and training, ⁴³ ~~however~~ it is difficult ^{very young} for children ⁴⁴ ~~The~~ they are taught to: distinguish ⁴⁵ with fairy tale from early age. ²⁴

I think ^{are} it is one of wisdoms which made up
 by human beings for existence. ^{up} If people lost
 to distinguish of good and evil, the world will be end
 quickly. ^{up} Man's creation is difined, a tug of war
 between God and man. ^{up} (~~And~~) good and evil are also
 difined a tug of war between Good and Evil throughout
 human beings. ^{up} Therefore, people must learn the
 distinction justly. ^{up}

! Can
 we make
 is clearer?

OK. Interesting story; good points.
~~For good~~ We will just do 2 drafts
 of this one. Please try to make
 the corrections I've underlined —
 and ask me if you have
 questions!

(50)

Questions:

(reprinted exactly as they occur in student texts; brackets are the researcher's)

Television Programs & Ads

1. But why do we rarely see anything [like] situation comedies on Japanese television?
2. Why are Japanese advertisers anxious to use such [famous] people in television commercials?
3. Which way is better?

About Fairy Tale

1. What is their [fairy tales'] big attraction?
2. "Which do you prefer?" [within dialogue of text]
3. What was content in the trunk?

Positive & Negative

1. Which ways have Western inventors always chosen?
2. However, why there is such differences between people of the U.S. and Japanese about attitude toward to solutions the problems and issues?

Attitudes toward Sports

1. When you think about go to skiing, what do you think the first?
2. Place?
3. Equipment?
4. Snow condition?
5. Transportation?

My Story

1. By the way, why I have had many different kinds of jobs?
2. What happened to me in Japan?
3. What...travel?

Cultural Differences

1. Why is that?

Technological Innovations

1. But will technology always give us solutions for the problems that we may encounter in the future?
2. However, what about this problem of technological innovations and employment?
3. But we should keep the question what will technology mean to our future?

The Hardest Choice in My Life

1. Should I pursue a my dream?

Changes in Family Structure

1. But why a big family has recently become a subject of wide

2. interest in Japan?
Can't you hear their parents "We just finished our nursing!"[?]

Mystery

1. However, if his opinion is collect [correct], why searching parties couldn't discover evidences of wreck or crash?

Writing Issues

1. How can I write?
2. Does my English expression cause to misunderstanding?

Christmas Cake & a Girl of Marriageable Age

1. "What age is considered a girl of marriageable age in Japan?"
[within dialogue of text]
2. By the way, do you know, a girl of marriageable age is usually compare to Christmas Cake in Japan?
3. What value does the unsold Christmas Cake have on date of 26th?

Dead Poets Society

1. Which way is better?

Pioneer

1. Do you know Pioneer squer?

APPENDIX F

SAMPLE INTERVIEW--NAOMI

Interview: Naomi, Tape 1 (Interviewer Begins)

ok. one of the first things i wanted to ask you about that i noticed was in your compositions was that you had uh, one of the teachers, one of your teachers, puts an organization grade and a grammar grade

mhm

and i started thinking about well, what does that organization mean to you? like if i start talking about organization in writing, what do you think of?

about organization?

yea

maybe uh, she, maybe i think the organization mean if i have an introduction and a body and a conclusion, that mean is organization, so maybe the teacher expected, expect us to how we organize, where, if we have an introduction, a body, a good conclusion, i think

when you write in japanese, do you have an introduction and a body and a conclusion?

yes, we have a four part

four parts?

yea, uh of course an introduction and a conclusion and uh two body, two bodies

how would you describe those parts?

uh, i don't know how to say it in english, introduction and the, one is introduction, and second and third...

ki-sho-ten-su?

yea, (laughs, surprise) wha you?

that's the that's the method you use?

yeayeaya

when you write?

yea, ki-sho-ten-ketsu, yea

huh, ok, well i've had people tell me that that's an older style

mhm

that people don't rely on as much,

oh, yea

but...it keeps coming up when i talk to people and when i read things that japanese people write, i can see, i feel like i can see some of that style because japanese teacher requires to write ki-sho-ten-ketsu yea

so you were required to do that in school?

yes

when you were learning?

yes

and at what level did they talk about that, when you were in high school or when you were younger?

younger i think maybe junior high school

mhm

maybe we didn't write a we didn't write any compositions about ki-sho-ten-ketsu in grade school maybe from junior high school. we could write a composition freely in elementary school, i i think so so it was only as you got older?

mhm

they started saying this is a good form or something?

yea

so in my understanding of that form, in the section called ten?

mhm

there's a change, kind of like a change in focus?

no, well, maybe change of focus

how would you describe it? maybe i'm not using a good word?

uh, main idea is the same, but we have to change a happening, maybe in the introduction we have to introduce how the story goes

mhm

in the second paragraph...sometimes we have to change, we have to change, for example we have to use but or by the way or anyway, no not anyway, but changing the but anyway but or otherwise

in contrast?

yes, in contrast, we have to change the way to write yea we have to oh we have to change the, not we have to change something in the third paragraph you mean the perspective or the way you're looking at it?

yes, yes

maybe or talk about it different?

mhm

sort of talk about a related idea?

yes

or something?

yea we have to change something in the third paragraph

when you first started writing in English

mhm

did you write english that way too?

no, no

why not?

maybe we didn't write a composition so much, we learned about grammar grammar and uh we always had grammar only

in japan you mean?

in japan, yea, only composition is one sentence only and uh we have to translate from japanese to english so we didn't have to write a long essay

you were never dealing with a long piece of writing?

mhm

so organization didn't come into question?

yes

so how about when you came here then and you, you were first, the first times you were asked to write something longer, what was that like?

i was a little upset because i sometimes in japan i wrote a journal or something but i always wrote uh freely, not ki-sho-ten-ketsu, i always write freely but in here, here the teacher required us introduction, body and conclusion and uh yea, she also said, we have also had ki-sho-ten-ketsu, so i didn't know the english composition had the ki-sho-ten-ketsu so i was, first time i didn't like to follow the rules conclusion or introduction and i didn't know the english composition had a thesis statement, we didn't need to write a thesis statement, just we think in our minds in our head and uh we don't, we didn't have to write our thesis statement first but in english composition we have to contain the thesis statement in introduction so first time i hate that rule (laughs)

so how did it seem, what did it seem like to you you didn't like it?

mhm

ok why didn't you like it?

um because i always wrote in english freely, depends on what comes in my mind i always write freely but uh teacher required us to write rule, or something rule, so it bothered my mind, bothered my idea (both laugh)
do you feel like its harder to express your meaning if you have to use that one form, of the introduction and body and conclusion, is it harder to express yourself?

yes, sometimes we, sometimes we use the outline i think japanese don't use outline so much but uh here teacher require us to write a outline 1 and a, b, and 2 and a,b, so i never i never got that kind of style so it bothered me very much.

do you think it helps, do you think making an outline helps when you're trying to use that american form?

mhm, yea i think so

it does? (surprise)

yea at first i hate that but now i think its its easier to organize my composition because when i was writing an outline, i can think i can think how the composition goes like, goes

how it goes, yea, so i think it help me, help us

Later Segment: (Interviewer Speaks First)

yes so if we were comparing the form of like a composition say or essay in japanese and english, you think the paragraphs would be similar?

yes i think so

but you think how the paragraphs are arranged might be different?

not so different

no?

no similar

except maybe the thesis would be at the end?

thesis, thesis we can use thesis in introduction, but most of most of us use thesis statement in conclusion

did that cause problems for you that difference when you first started trying to use this english form?

sometimes, sometimes, yea

did you did you feel like your teacher understood, like if you wrote an essay and you put the thesis in the conclusion?

what do you mean?

if you wrote an essay here and you put your thesis in the conclusion part...

no, i have to put the thesis in introduction

but did you ever do it the other way?

no, in the united states, at ala? I always use it in introduction, yea and uh i have to repeat the whole story in conclusion

uhum, ok cause i was going to ask what if you DID do it that other way ever what happened if your teacher understood that the main idea was at the end or not

so i sometimes it its stupid to repeat the whole story in conclusion, because i already wrote about the story i have to repeat the same same story in conclusion, why do i have to repeat it, i sometimes think about that so i sometimes think i should use thesis statement in conclusion. i

sometimes think its stupid

yea

so i can't think of any other idea about conclusion, so writing a conclusion is sometimes a problem because what do i say? i already said everything

APPENDIX G

SAMPLE INTERVIEW--KEITA

Interview: Keita, Tape 1

in your classes, what do you think now is important, like how do you, how do you make a paper have unity, or how do you make a paper coherent?

uhh, very simple

yea?

I feel, I think with the point (points to linear model) straight, never (points to cyclic model) I like if I write a composition I never ..(points to twist in linear model); I try this co- um unity

uhm

you see "huh? what?" (mimics instructor not understanding) I try, to, I'd like my reader to have interest in my paper, right

I try, I try to use technique this way (points to a zig-zag model) in a kind of zig-zag

yes, it's uhm, on purpose, it's my purpose

yea, you did it on purpose,

yes

because, is your reason because you think that will be more interesting to your reader?

yes, and to keep attention

to keep attention, yea, so it doesn't get boring

yes, but straight...uh,uh,uh,uh (moves a pencil straight, straight, straight, and laughs as he mimics a person shrugging his shoulders and walking away)

so you feel like if you use this technique that's real straight and linear that then the reader can just read it straight through and then walk away and forget it ?

uhmh,uhmh

and not, because, because he never got involved?

uhmh

and if, if you write a more intricate pattern that has changes in it then the reader will get involved?

umhm

and after he or she has read it, maybe they will, they'll think about it still some more?

uhmh, uhmh

and that's important, as a writer, that's kind of a goal?

uhm

that you want your reader to keep thinking about your subject?

mmmmmm

is that? am I right in understanding that that's part of the goal of a good piece of writing?

uhm

that the reader will think about it after he's finished with it?

uhmh, yes, so of course, of course I'll write this way: unity (points to linear) but mmmmm little bit boring (laughs) always, always this subject, the subject, doesn't exist only (points to a drawing, in which one circle is surrounded by and connected to several other circles and draws a pencil along the border of one circle again and again and again) this, there are many subjects

so, so you're told here by your english teachers that you need to only

write about this one small subject?

yes! yes!

and that seems, that doesn't seem right because you're thinking that this subject doesn't exist by itself?

Yes

it's connected to...

it's connected to other things

ohh,

so, sometimes I try other things, other things, other things(draws around many circles and in between them)

uhuh

and sometimes I could, or I should uh take examples of this or this or this and of course last I'll write about this, this subject. of course in conclusion, but the, the way passing, direct, body in the body?

in the body I would like to,uhmmm, could, uhh or I would like to write the of other things (points to interconnected circles) to keep attention and, um, I would like to show interest about this so I'll I would like to use yea, the related ideas

the related uhm

and when you use these (related circles), what kind of comments do you get from your instructors?

uhhh

what do they say?

yes, uhh, ESL instructors never accuse or blame about composition, usually they say compliment: uhm great, uhm great, uhm bad (laughs)

laughs

great, great (laughs)

so when you do this, when you bring in the related ideas, does your instructor say the composition does not have unity?

yes!

uhuh

so, even if, even if you focus on this subject, this subject,

uhuh

unity, ohhh, last (imitates instructor reading with puzzled face until the very end, then widens his eyes and says)"ohhhh I understand!" laughs. yea, ye-e-s! (points to linear patterns, reads quickly and without interest, then tosses it in the air frivolously) laughs...but its boring, wow, I understand but I don't know why well, if he showed this line different unity, goes different direction, but at least I could write direct.

mmm

direct, but mmhow could I learned, I learn

mmm, so you feel now like you can write with that linear style: this one (points to linear model) if you want to?

mmm

but you don't want to so you'll only do it when you have to?

this is the way of english, I'm learn english so...

does it feel uncomfortable when you do that?

oh-h-! I'm used to, I'm used to writing something in english, so these days I don't care.

laughs

My purpose is to get, how do you say, good grades (laughs)

laughs

so, if he will give me A, I obey his instruction: ah! unity, right! unity (mimics student-teacher interaction with student playing for grade) next time I'll try. This is uh just draft, uh, yes, I'll rewrite, I'll rewrite.

so when you rewrite then, do you feel now like you know what you need to change to make it more, to make it have more unity?

laughs. still now when I express some subject, I would like to take this way (points to zig-zag model)

yea?

but he told me "your compositions, your sentences make reader believe complex: does he, what does he want to say? What? What?" (imitates instructor)

mhm

this is my purpose. what he want what I can't understand. So, do you know I can't understand why. Ah-h! Conclusion, conclusion,

ah-h ok

so he um describes here right and he quote and he shows the example this is his purpose

ok so you're saying that when the reader is...

mhm

in your purpose, your personal purpose when you're writing, you expect that if the reader finds something complex in the writing...

yes, yes

and is not quite sure, then that will make the reader read more to find out...

what, why

what you mean and to try to get unconfused?

mhm

so, that's its best to have some complexity?

yes

and some confusion through the body so that then the conclusion is very... clear

clear and is a kind of accomplishment for the reader?

yes. yes.

ah-h-h-h! oh.

Later Segment: (Interviewer speaks first)

now what i see as a big problem with that [the teacher crossing off an ending in a student paper on the grounds that it changes the subject] is that's the Japanese student's main point, so that if the japanese writer takes that off the most important meaning is taken out that if english teachers are trying to help japanese students express themselves then what we need to do is help bring this part to the introduction

ye-e-es

instead of crossing it off, i think when see as when english teachers tell students leave the conclusion because it doesn't belong, then we are taking meaning away from the student and maybe what the student needs if we are learning kind of to translate into a new language style is to bring this to the introduction and then...

yea, its hard, hard, so

but the the conclusion, that end part, that is, is that the most important part of the meaning?

yes, and who, who who shows first the most important thing and puts it first? for example, if you want some thing, i'm shopping, shop owner, oh, there many things and this, how about this, how about this? and maybe you ah, eh, uh, ok this uhuh? what do you think? uh? excellent! last

right

yes?

so when we sell, we always save the best for last?

yes, so why this thing i show first good things...um...do you have any other, any do you have any other things, um, I don't, i don't have...ok (customer leaving)

ah-h-h

but first...how about this? ah-ok, how about this? you don't want, ok wait (shows best) excellent

umhm,uhmh, yea ok

the same thing why that the most important thing put in the front, ah i think this is the thesis, and the thesis put on the first, introduction mmm i don't need to read! (laughs)

oh, he want to say, oh this

ok i understand (laughing) so if you put, if you put your most important thing in the thesis in the beginning, then why read the rest of the paper? yes

and every, the most important thing is said so i don't need to read

yes, i'll read another paper, oh this, here (mimes picking up another paper) ok (laughs) thank you ok

(laughs) you know when you play cards, do you play cards?

mhm

if you are uh betting in cards, you save your best card for last

yes, same thing

same thing

yes, so um, so i tried, i tried to write in organization, i never... i hide (mimes hiding paper with conclusion) the most important most important things about subject...(mime of struggling to put conclusion on top and resistance)

yea

this way is not, not match, not fit english style, so i put to to

and so now your trying to put your main idea (motions to the front of the paper)?

yes, yes the beginning

uhuh when you were first uh talking with teachers about this, could you feel like, um, did you feel like the teachers knew that the part of your conclusion was most important to you, as a writer?

you mean i asked my instructor about this?

no, i mean when um, say you wrote a paper and you gave it to your instructor

uhuh

and your instructor...

instructor suggest to me that the conclusion, and what is the main point uhuh

and after the conference and i practice again and again and again and i

got it i got a style that is typical uhm, of course in this argument paper
this my purpose in writing this paper is to blablabla
so now you just put it at the beginning?

mhm

when you had those conferences did you feel like your instructor
understood what your main idea was?

mmm, last year, last year? no-o! "what do you want to write? what's
your purpose? the main point? grrrrr, rrrrr..." and also uhmmm my english
was poor, still now poor, but last year i couldn't explain correct (sound
effects and imitating of teacher squinting at and puzzling over
composition)

uhuh

he or she couldn't understand why i'm my writing style different was
different from english style, yes?

do you think if those teachers knew about this...

maybe

do you think if the teacher knew, that that teacher could have been more
helpful?

yes, yes I think.

